THE MEDITATIONS OF THE EMPEROR MARCUS AURELIUS ANTONINUS.

Newly tranſlated from the Greek: with notes, and an account of his life.

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INTRODUCTION:

CONTAINING SOME OF THE MOST MEMORABLE PASSAGES, PRESERV'D, OF THE LIFE OF THE EMPEROR MARCUS ANTONINUS.

THE authors of this tranſlation, judging that theſe divine ſentiments of Antoninus, may be of ſome advantage to many who have not acceſs to them, while they are kept in the learned languages, undertook to make them as plain as the ſubjects would admit. Some of theſe meditations cannot well be apprehended, without a conſiderable acquaintance with the philoſophy and ſtile of the Stoics: ſome of them are only memorial hints this great man intended for himſelf alone, the deſign of which, the commentators cannot pretend certainly to explain; and the true text of the original is not always certain: but, there are many of them

obvious to every capacity; which contain ſome of the plaineſt, and yet moſt ſtriking conſiderations, to affect the hearts of thoſe who have any ſenſe of goodneſs, and warm them with the nobleſt emotions, of piety, gratitude, and reſignation to GOD; contempt of ſenſual pleaſure, wealth, worldly grandeur, and fame; and a conſtant inflexible charity, and good-will and compaſſion toward our fellows, ſuperior to all the force of anger or envy, or our little interfering worldly intereſts.

The old Engliſh tranſlation can ſcarce be agreeable to any reader; becauſe of the intricate and antiquated ſtile. The late tranſlation ſeems not to preſerve ſufficiently the grand ſimplicity of the original. This tranſlation, therefore, is almoſt intirely new; according to Gataker's edition of the original, and his Latin verſion.

'Tis quite foreign to our deſign, either to ſhew art and ingenuity in drawing a character of this great man; or in making encomiums upon him; or to diſplay our diligence or knowledge, in making an hiſtory of his life. His own meditations, to every judicious reader, will preſent a great ſoul; adorned with the ſoundeſt underſtanding, the moſt amiable ſweetneſs and kindneſs of affections, the moſt invincible meekneſs, ſteddy juſtice, humility, and ſimplicity, and the moſt entire reſignation

to GOD. And the hiſtory of his life, even as 'tis imperfectly preſerved to us, will ſhew his great capacity, and penetration, in public affairs, and his ſtrength of mind, calmneſs, and intrepidity amidſt the greateſt dangers.

To give theſe meditations the greater force upon the mind of the reader; as well as to gratify his natural curioſity; and, to remove what prejudices may poſſibly occur to him; we ſubjoin the following ſhort abſtract of his life, taken from the collections made by Dacier and Stanhope.

Marcus Aurelius was born in the year of our Lord 121, during the reign of Adrian. By his father Annius Verus, he was of one of the greateſt families in Italy, deſcended, as 'tis ſaid, from Numa. his grandfather had been thrice Conſul and Prefect of the city, and ſurvived Annius Verus. His aunt by his father, Annia Fauſtina, was married to Antoninus Pius the Emperor. Marcus Aurelius's mother was alſo of an eminent conſular family, the daughter of Calviſius Tullus.

Our Emperor's firſt name was Annius Verus, the ſame with his father's. Adrian, who had loved him from his infancy, called him Annius Veriſſimus; probably, from the early appearance of candour and veracity in his temper. When he was adopted into the Aurelian family, he took the name

of his adoptive father Marcus Aurelius. He was but a child when his own father died; but was educated by his grandfather; who procured for him the beſt inſtructors in pronuntiation, muſic, geometry, greek, and rhetoric, or, oratory. But his ſoul was ſoon intent upon ſomething ſtill greater than theſe ingenious accompliſhments; and he ſhewed no high taſte for them. He was inſtructed in the Stoic philoſophy by Sextus Chaeronenſis, Plutarch's grandſon; Iunius Ruſticus, Claudius Maximus, and Cinna Catulus; and in the Peripatetic, by Claudius Severus. Philoſophy was his favourite ſtudy.

He ſhewed his perpetual gratitude to theſe good men; not only by promoting them in the world, to dignity and wealth; but by a continual reſpect for them, even when he was in the higheſt elevation of fortune. And, in the very beginning of his meditations, he has perpetuated their memory, his own gratitude, and his honeſt humility, in aſcribing all his virtues to their inſtructions, and nothing to himſelf; in a manner truly original, and peculiar to him. He ſtudied alſo the laws of his country under Volutius Mecianus, the moſt celebrated lawyer of that age.

He was dear to Adrian, ſo early, that he was advanced to the equeſtrian dignity at ſix years of age; and made one of the prieſts of Mars at eight.

He was even intruſted with ſome great charges, before he was twenty; and acquitted himſelf with as great decency and dignity, as any of the old magiſtrates. He had ſome taſte for painting, in his youth, and practiſed it for ſome time. But he more admired wreſtling, racing, tennis, and hunting, as the natural means of health and vigour, for the diſcharging all honourable offices. He often encountered the fierceſt boars, with ſafety and honour.

But, his chief delight was in the Stoic philoſophy; and that in practice, as well as ſpeculation. He lived up to all their auſterities, in ſpare diet, plain dreſs, and abſtinence from all ſoftneſs, effeminacy, and luxury; even from twelve years of age. Nature had formed him for the greateſt dignity and conſtancy; with a ſingular firmneſs of ſoul; not to be moved by any accidents; ſo that moſt of the hiſtorians aſſure us, that ſcarce ever did joy or grief make any change in his countenance; and this gravity was ever eaſy to others; being free from all moroſeneſs or pride.

He gave up all his father's, and his mother's eſtate too, to his ſiſter Annia Cornificia, who was married to Numidius Quadratus.

A. D. 139. Adrian, upon the death of his former adoptive ſon Ceſenius Commodus, inclined to have

adopted Marcus Aurelius to be his ſucceſſor, then about 18 years of age; but deeming him too young, he adopted Antoninus Pius, on condition that he ſhould immediately adopt Marcus, and L. Verus, the ſon of the ſame Commodus. 'Tis ſaid that Marcus had dreamed, the preceeding night, that his ſhoulders and arms were of ivory, and that he found them much ſtronger than formerly. The news of his adoption ſeemed to afflict him; and he ſpoke a great deal, on that occaſion, about the evils and dangers which always attend ſupreme power.

A. D. 140. Upon Adrian's death, Antoninus Pius his ſucceſſor betrothed his daughter Fauſtina in marriage to Marcus Aurelius, and raiſed him to the conſulſhip; and, ſoon after, conferred on him the honours of the ſucceſſors to the empire. Theſe things increaſed his keenneſs in the ſtudy and practice of philoſophy; and Antoninus Pius brought Apollonius the Stoic from Athens, to aſſiſt him.

About this time, Marcus's old tutor died; who had had the conſtant charge of him from his infancy. On this occaſion, he could not refrain from tears; and when ſome about the court, put him in mind of his uſual conſtancy and ſteddineſs, Antoninus Pius replied in his defence, ‹ you muſt ‹ give him leave to be a man: neither philoſophy

'nor imperial dignity can extinguiſh our natural 'affections.'

A. D. 147. At the age of 25, he married Fauſtina: a wife no way ſuited to ſuch an huſband. She ſoon bore him a daughter; and, in the ſame year, the ſenate conferred on him all manner of honours and powers; even higher than on any of his predeceſſors; and he ever employed them for the good of the ſtate; always promoting men ſolely on account of their merit; and ſeemed to pay ſtill greater deference to Antoninus the Emperor, perpetually attending him, and doing him all manner of kind offices; ſo that their mutual friendſhip was inacceſſible to all the attempts of deſigning men, to raiſe any diſtruſts or ſuſpicions between them.

A. D. 161. Upon the death of Antoninus Pius, the ſenate obliged Marcus Aurelius to take upon him the government; and he aſſumed L. Verus as partner in it. They both took the name of Antoninus; and Marcus betrothed his daughter Lucilla to Verus. After this, they celebrated, with the greateſt magnificence, the funeral, or, apotheoſis of Antoninus; the ceremonies of which are told by all antiquaries; and each of the new Emperors made a funeral oration upon him.

As ſoon as he was ſettled in the ſupreme power,

application was made from all quarters, by the Heathen prieſts, philoſophers, and governors of provinces, for leave to perſecute the Chriſtians. But, whatever perſecution there might be in the remoter provinces, we have no aſſurance that it was authoriſed by the Emperor; as indeed it was intirely contrary to his principles and inclination. 'Tis even denied by Valeſius, in his notes upon Euſebius, that the apology of Juſtin Martyr called the firſt, tho' truly the ſecond, was addreſſed to this Emperor, or to the ſenate, during his reign. He brings ſeveral reaſons to prove that both theſe apologies were wrote and preſented to Antoninus Pius. 'Tis, however, probable, that there have been ſome conſiderable perſecutions, in ſeveral parts of the empire, during his reign. Euſebius preſerves to us a letter of this Emperor's, upon applications made by ſome of the heathens, for leave to perſecute the Chriſtians, when they had been terrified by ſome pretended prodigies and earthquakes. It was directed to ſome general council of Aſia, and carries along with it many characters of this author, tho' ſome aſcribe it to his predeceſſor.

" Marcus Aurelius Antoninus, etc. to the aſ-
" ſembly of Aſia, greeting. I am ſure the Gods
" will take care that ſuch men as you deſcribe,
" ſhould not be hid; and it ſuits themſelves much

« better to puniſh ſuch as refuſe them worſhip,
« than you. Your haraſſing them with charges of
« Atheiſm, only confirms them more in their ſen-
« timents. To them it muſt be eligible, rather to
« die for their own God, under ſuch accuſations,
« than to live. Thus they always defeat you; throw-
« ing away their lives rather than do what you re-
« quire of them. As to thoſe earthquakes, for ſome
« time paſt, which yet continue, 'tis proper to ad-
« moniſh you, to compare your conduct with
« theirs. They, on ſuch occaſions, confide more
« in their God; but you, all this time, through
« your ignorance, neglect the Gods, as well as o-
« ther things, and all the worſhip due to that im-
« mortal Being, whoſe worſhippers, the Chriſtians,
« you are haraſſing and perſecuting to death. Ma-
« ny of the governors of provinces wrote about
« theſe matters, to my divine father; and he pro-
« hibited their giving the Chriſtians any diſtur-
« bance; unleſs they were found making ſome at-
« tempts againſt the Roman ſtate. Many have ap-
« plied to me about the ſame matter. I wrote to
« them in the ſame ſentiments with my father. If
« any ſhall ſtill perſiſt in proſecuting them, mere-
« ly as Chriſtians, let the perſon proſecuted be ac-
« quitted, tho' it ſhould appear he were a Chri-
« ſtian; and let the proſecutor be puniſhed.'

This letter, and that extraordinary character which the Chriſtian writers, as well as the heathen, give to this Emperor, for juſtice, and lenity of temper, muſt eaſily convince us that he never could authoriſe ſuch perſecution of men, merely for Chriſtianity.

In this firſt year of his reign, his ſon Commodus was born; whoſe horrid vices were, they ſay, fore-boded by ſeveral diſmal prodigies; ſuch as inundations, earthquakes, and the burning of ſeveral cities. The Emperor was immediately engaged in wars on all ſides; by the invaſions of the Parthians, all the way to Syria; and of the Catti, into Germany, as far as to the country of the Griſons: the Britons too revolted. Calphurnius Agricola was ſent to command in Britain; Aufidius Victorinus to oppoſe the Catti; and Verus went againſt the Parthians.

But as ſoon as Verus left Rome, and was no longer over-awed by the authority and virtue of Antoninus, he gave himſelf up to all debauchery, and fell ſick at Canuſium. M. Antoninus went thither to ſee him, and gave him his beſt advice as to his future conduct. Verus, upon his recovery, continued his march; but was not reformed by his ſickneſs. He plunged again into all ſort of debauchery at Daphne, one of the ſuburbs of Antioch,

and committed the war to his lieutenants; which they managed ſucceſsfully. Antoninus, pleaſed with the ſucceſs, and, either unappriſed of his returning to his vices, or, hoping to reclaim him by all the ties of affection, offered him in marriage his daughter Lucilla, a princeſs of ſingular beauty; and ſent her to him, while he was in Syria. he declined going with her himſelf; leſt any ſhould imagine he aimed to ſhare the glory of theſe conqueſts. He wrote to the ſeveral * proconſuls and governors in her way, to be at no vain expence in her reception, as ſhe paſſed through their provinces; but to let her perform her journey in a private manner. This princeſs ſhewed as little regard to virtue, or her character, as her huſband. Upon the ſucceſs † of this war, the two Emperors had a triumph.

About this time, upon an inſurrection of the Germans, Antoninus marched againſt them in perſon; and from his own judgment of the abilities of Pertinax, who afterwards was raiſed to the empire, made him one of his lieutenants; and never had reaſon to repent of his choice. This war was alſo ſucceſsful. The Germans were defeated, after their many vigorous efforts, by the bravery of the Emperor and his army. Antoninus ſhewed his wiſ-

* A. D. 167. † A. D. 168.

dom and ſteddineſs on this occaſion, when the victorious army, after their great and dangerous ſervices, demanded an augmentation of their pay: he refuſed it; telling them that 'he could not do it 'but at the expence of their brethren and kinſmen; 'for whom he was accountable to God.'

A. D. 169. The year following, a more dangerous war aroſe from the Quadi and Marcomanni; while the plague alſo raged in Italy. The Emperor uſed great variety of ſacrifices and religious rites, to appeaſe the Gods; and then went againſt the enemy, taking Verus along with him, who rather inclined to have continued in his debaucheries at Rome. Antoninus ſoon conquered the enemy; and, in his return, Verus died of an apoplexy at Altinum, or, as ſome ſuſpect, by poiſon, given him by his wife Lucilla, upon finding an inceſtuous intrigue of his with his own ſiſter.

About this time, the governors of ſome remote provinces renewed the perſecution againſt the Chriſtians. There is no other evidence of the Emperor's authority interpoſed, or countenance given, for this purpoſe, except, that, in anſwer to a letter of the governor of Gaul, aſking what the Emperor inclined ſhould be done with ſome Chriſtian priſoners, he ordered, 'that ſuch only 'as confeſſed, ſhould be put to death, and the

'reſt releaſed.' Now, Chriſtians were ordinarily accuſed for other crimes than any religious tenets; ſuch as treaſon and ſedition, the murdering of infants, and eating them, and inceſtuous debaucheries in their aſſemblies. 'Tis very credible the Emperor intended by this order, that only ſuch ſhould die, as confeſſed theſe crimes, and not all ſuch as confeſſed that they were of the Chriſtian religion; for, at that rate, ſcarce any would have been releaſed: and yet, upon this ambiguity, there was, in ſome provinces, a violent perſecution. 'Tis thought that Antoninus was not at Rome in the year 166, but abroad, when Juſtin Martyr is ſaid to have ſuffered. It was probably on this occaſion, that Athenagoras compoſed, and ſent to the Emperor, his beautiful and juſt defence of the Chriſtians yet extant; inſiſting for leſs ambiguous orders, that none ſhould be puniſhed for the name of Chriſtian; but only upon a fair trial, whether they were guilty of the crimes laid to their charge; and vindicating the Chriſtians from them: this, probably, procured them peace, during the reſt of this reign.

The Marcomanni and Quadi, aſſiſted by the Sarmatians, Vandals, and other nations, made more terrible efforts than ever, attacked Antoninus's army, and put the Romans to flight, with a

great ſlaughter of near 20000. But the Emperor rallied them at Aquileia, and defeated the enemy, and drove them out of all Pannonia.

About this time, the Moors ravaged Spain, and the ſhepherds in Egypt took arms, and gave the greateſt diſturbance to the Romans in that province; but both were quelled by the vigilance of the Emperor, and the bravery of his lieutenants who commanded there; while he was heading the armies in the north; where he forced at laſt the barbarous nations to ſubmit to his own terms.

When peace was reſtored, the Emperor was continually employed for the good of his people; making wiſe laws, for prevention of frauds, and the ſpeedy adminiſtration of juſtice, and reforming all abuſes; ſharing his power with the Senate. He diſcovered the greateſt penetration, as well as fidelity, toward the public, in ſearching out and promoting men of ability and integrity, to all the great offices; and the greateſt patience and conſtancy, in the adminiſtration of juſtice, and conſulting in the Senate about public affairs; ſcarce ever loſing one moment of his time. His aſſiduity was the more ſurpriſing, that his health had, for ſome years, been exceedingly impaired by the great fatigues he had endured. He was particularly inquiſitive about the cenſures paſt upon his conduct;

which he bore with the greateſt meekneſs; his aim being only that he might reform whatever was amiſs in it. He would admit of no lofty titles, nor that impious flattery of building altars and temples to himſelf.

The old enemies of the Romans, the Marcomanni, watching their opportunity, when the Roman troops were diminiſhed by a plague, and the treaſury much exhauſted, which the Emperor's compaſſion for his people kept very low, perfidiouſly renewed their hoſtilities. He ſupplied his treaſury, by ſelling, under a clauſe of redemption, the moſt valuable moveables of his palace; and his army, even by employing the gladiators.

Before he marched againſt the enemy, he loſt his ſecond ſon Verus, then ſeven years old; and bore it with ſuch fortitude, that he omitted no public buſineſs on that account. This expedition proved more tedious and dangerous than any of the former. He at firſt gave them a defeat; having expoſed himſelf to the utmoſt hazard; from which, the grateful love of his ſoldiers protected him. After the battle, the Emperor himſelf went to the field, weeping over the ſlain among the enemies, and endeavouring to preſerve all that could be cured or relieved.

The enemy, ſoon after, by ſkirmiſhing parties,

feigning a flight, led the Emperor and his army into ſuch ſtraits amidſt mountains, that they were encloſed on all ſides, and could not eſcape; all the paſſes being poſſeſſed by the enemy. Here they were like to periſh with heat and thirſt, deprived of all water. They made ſome vigorous efforts to force their way; but without other effect, than to convince them that they were reſerved ſacrifices to the fury of the Barbarians. All the Emperor's efforts to rouſe the ſpirits of the fainting ſoldiers, were vain. He is ſaid to have committed himſelf and them to God, with the moſt ardent prayers; appealing to God for the innocence of his conduct in life. There were alſo many Chriſtians in the army; employed no doubt, in like ſupplications to God. In the event, clouds ſuddenly aroſe, and thunder, with a moſt plentiful ſhower; while all the lightning fell among the Barbarians: with this, the Romans take courage, and the enemy are diſmayed. The Romans attack them in this confuſion, and put them to flight, with great ſlaughter, enraged with the freſh remembrance of their late danger.

The Heathens aſcribe this deliverance to the Emperor's piety; and the Chriſtians univerſally to the prayers of the legion of Mitilene, which ſome ignorantly averred had on this occaſion got the

name of the Thundering Legion. That name was given to this legion, in the days of Auguſtus, for a quite different reaſon, becauſe they had thunderbolts engraved or painted on their ſhields. 'Tis told indeed confidently, by Chriſtian writers near thoſe times, that the Emperor was adviſed by the captain of his guards, to employ the Chriſtians of his army in prayer to their God, who, he ſaid, refuſed nothing to their prayers; and that he did ſo, and found the ſurprizing event immediately anſwering upon their prayers; and that, in conſequence of this, he wrote to the Senate, to ſtop all proſecutions againſt them, and give them full liberty for the exerciſe of their religion. 'Tis not improbable, from theſe bold affirmations of Chriſtians, ſo near the time of that event, that there has been ſuch a letter; tho' the one now bearing that ſtile, is reputed by many to be a forgery. No doubt, ſuch a letter would be ſuppreſſed by an Heathen Senate.

Antoninus purſued this war, with the greateſt bravery, conduct, and clemency; ſometimes, in the purſuits, going himſelf into the woods and marſhes, where the poor Barbarians were lurking, and protecting them from the fury of his own ſoldiers. At laſt, he defeated them intirely, by many perilous encounters; and poſſeſſed himſelf of all their

fortreſſes. He had added all theſe countries as provinces to the Roman empire, had he not been interrupted by the revolt of Caſſius; and even forced to accept of leſs advantageous terms of peace from theſe Barbarians, than they had formerly agreed to.

The Emperor's conduct in the whole affair, of this revolt, deſerves to be more particularly related; as by it his temper, and the greatneſs of his ſoul, is more ſhown than by his glorious military atchievements.

Caſſius had been endeared to the army, by his early atchievements in Armenia, Egypt, and Arabia. He was a man of great art, courage, and patience, but prodigal, and diſſolute; tho' he could well conceal his vices. He revived the antient ſtrict military diſcipline, with great rigour, and kept the army ſober, and conſtantly employed. On the account of theſe good qualities, Caſſius was employed by the Emperor to recover the army quartered in Syria from their luxury, contracted under Verus; and he was much recommended by the Emperor to the governors of theſe Eaſtern provinces. When he was thus promoted, he formed high deſigns, pretended to draw his pedigree from the old Caſſius, and talked much of reſtoring the old common-wealth. Verus, before his

death, had ſuſpicion of his ambitious deſigns, from his conduct, and his jeſts upon Antoninus's ſtudious diſpoſition; and wrote his ſuſpicions to Antoninus, warning him to prevent his deſigns againſt him and his children, by putting him to death. To which, this was Antoninus's anſwer.

‹ I have read your letter; which ſhews more of ‹ an anxious and timorous ſpirit, than of that be- ‹ coming an Emperor, and ſuits not my govern- ‹ ment. If the Gods have decreed him the em- ‹ pire, we cannot diſpatch him, tho' we would. ‹ You know your great-grandfather's proverb, « No prince ever killed his ſucceſſor." But if 'tis ‹ not decreed him, he will periſh without any cru- ‹ elty of ours. There is no condemning a man ‹ whom no body accuſes, and whom the army ‹ loves. And, then, in caſes of treaſon, we are ‹ deemed to have injured even thoſe perſons who ‹ are fully convicted. You know what your grand- ‹ father Adrian uſed to ſay, « the lot of ſove- « reigns is hard, they are never credited about « conſpiracies formed againſt them, till they fall « by them." I cite him to you, rather than Do- ‹ mitian, the author of the obſervation; becauſe ‹ the beſt ſayings of Tyrants have not the weight ‹ they may deſerve. Let Caſſius take his own way; ‹ eſpecially, ſince he is a good general, keeps ſtrict

‘ diſcipline, is brave, and neceſſary to the ſtate.
‘ As for caution about my children, by diſpatch-
‘ ing him, let my children periſh, if Caſſius better
‘ deſerves the love of the Romans than they, and
‘ it be more the intereſt of our country, that Caſ-
‘ ſius ſhould live, than the children of Marcus.’

A. D. 175. Caſſius, when he had formed the ambitious deſign, either raiſed a report of Antoninus's death, and that the army in Pannonia had elected himſelf for Emperor, or took occaſion, from this report, to aſſume the ſovereign power. He gave all places in the army to his friends, and cauſed all to ſubmit to him, from Syria to mount Taurus. He ſends a letter to his ſon at Alexandria, as a manifeſto, inveighing againſt the corruptions in the adminiſtration, the extortions of the proconſuls and governors, and the decay of antient rigour and ſeverity of manners, under a bookiſh Emperor, who neglected public affairs; and concludes, ‘ let the Gods favour the Caſſii,
‘ and the commonwealth ſhall regain its antient
‘ dignity.’

Martius Verus ſent accounts of all theſe things to Antoninus; and he endeavoured to conceal them from the army; but the matter was ſoon divulged: upon this, he addreſſed the army, (as Dion Caſſius relates,) to this effect. He firſt expreſ-

ſed the deepeſt regret for the impending miſery of a civil war, the corruption of men, the ingratitude and perfidy, diſcovered by thoſe to whom he had done the kindeſt offices, and in whom he had confided: but he exhorted his ſoldiers, not to imagine that all faith and integrity were gone out of the earth. He had ſtill many faithful and brave friends: he had no fear of ſucceſs; ſupported both by his own innocence, his knowledge of the daſtardly diſpoſition of theſe diſſolute troops and nations who had revolted, and his experience of the fidelity and bravery of theſe he addreſſed. He ſubjoined the tendereſt expreſſions of clemency and pity, even toward Caſſius, and that preſerving his life, and pardoning him, would be to him more joyful than any triumph.

He wrote alſo to the ſame purpoſe to the Senate, which immediately declared Caſſius a traitor, and confiſcated his eſtate to the city, ſince the Emperor would not take it to himſelf. He wrote alſo to Fauſtina this letter.

'Verus's account of Caſſius was true, that he 'deſigned to uſurp. You have heard what the for-'tune-tellers have told him. Come, therefore, to 'Alba, that we may conſult about theſe affairs, 'without fear, under the protection of the Gods.' She returned this anſwer. 'I will go to Alba to-

‘ morrow, as you order; but muſt adviſe you, if
‘ you love your children, to extirpate theſe rebels.
‘ Both the officers and ſoldiers, are grown very
‘ ſeditious. They will cut you off, unleſs you pre-
‘ vent them.’

Fauſtina being detained, contrary to her expectation, the Emperor wrote to her to meet him at Formiae, where he was to embark, but ſhe was detained at Rome, by the ſickneſs of her daughter, and wrote him this letter.

‘ In a like revolt of Celſus, my mother adviſed
‘ Antoninus Pius, firſt, to ſhew his tenderneſs and
‘ goodneſs to his own, and then to others. A
‘ prince cannot be deemed to have the juſt father-
‘ ly affection to his people, who neglects his wife
‘ and children. You ſee the tender years of Com-
‘ modus. Our ſon-in-law Pompeianus is old, and
‘ a ſtranger. Conſider, then, how you ought to
‘ treat Caſſius and his aſſociates. Don't ſpare thoſe,
‘ who would not, if they were victorious, ſpare
‘ you, nor me, nor our children. I ſhall ſpeedily
‘ follow you. Fadilla's ſickneſs hindered me from
‘ meeting you at Formiae. —— I ſhall ſend you
‘ accounts, if I don't overtake you, what Caſſius's
‘ wife and children, and ſon-in-law, are talking
‘ about you.’

Caſſius made all efforts to ſtrengthen his party.

He wrote a long letter to Herod, a man of good abilities, who commanded in Greece, and had fallen under Antoninus's diſpleaſure for ſome maladminiſtration, to engage him to join againſt Antoninus. But Herod had ſuch veneration for the Emperor, that before he had read out all Caſſius's letter, he returned him this ſhort anſwer; ‹ Herod to Caſſius. You are mad.'

Caſſius ſucceeded no better in ſoliciting ſome other provinces to revolt; and began to loſe his credit with the army; and, at laſt, was diſpatched by ſome of them, about three months after his revolt; and his head was ſent to Antoninus, before he left Formiae, or had returned an anſwer to Fauſtina's laſt letter. On this occaſion, he wrote to her thus. ‹ My dear Fauſtina, you ſhew a moſt ‹ dutiful concern for me, and our children. I have ‹ read your letters to me at Formiae twice over; ‹ preſſing me to be ſevere toward the conſpirators ‹ with Caſſius; but I am reſolved to ſpare his children, his ſon-in-law, and his wife, and ſhall ‹ write to the Senate, that they make no rigid proſcription, nor any cruel puniſhments. Nothing ‹ can more recommend a Roman Emperor to the ‹ love of all nations, than clemency. 'Twas for ‹ this virtue that Caeſar and Auguſtus were repu‹ ted divinities. This obtained your father the

‘ title of Pius. Had the war ended as I would have
‘ wiſhed, Caſſius himſelf had not died. Don't be
‘ afraid. The Gods protect me. My fatherly affec-
‘ tion to mankind muſt be acceptable to them. I
‘ have made Pompeianus our ſon-in-law conſul
‘ for next year.'

Some thought this clemency too great. One uſed the freedom to aſk him, how he thought Caſſius would have treated him and his family, had he been victorious? he replied, ‘ I have not ſerved
‘ the Gods ſo ill, or lived in ſuch a manner, that
‘ I had reaſon to fear the Gods would allow Caſſius
‘ to conquer me:' and counted over moſt of the Emperors who had been dethroned and aſſaſſinated; ſhewing, that their own tyranny or folly occaſioned their fate.

Of his letter to the Senate, this part is yet preſerved: ‘ In gratitude, therefore, for my victory,
‘ you have made my ſon-in-law conſul; whoſe
‘ years ſeemed long ago to have claimed it; had
‘ not ſome brave worthy perſons interveened, to
‘ whom that debt was firſt to be paid by the
‘ State. As to the revolt of Caſſius, I beſeech
‘ and obteſt you, Fathers, that, laying aſide your
‘ rigour, you would act ſuitably to my clemency,
‘ and your own. Let no Senator be put to death,
‘ or puniſhed; nor the blood of any eminent per

‘ ſon be ſhed. Let the baniſhed return; and re-
‘ ſtore the eſtates of the proſcribed. Would to
‘ God I could recall to life many of the dead. I
‘ never can like an Emperor's reſentment of any
‘ injury aimed at himſelf. It appears too ſevere,
‘ even when very juſt. You muſt, therefore, par-
‘ don the ſons of Caſſius, his ſon-in-law, and his
‘ wife. But, why ſay I pardon? they have com-
‘ mitted no crime. Let them live ſecure; and feel
‘ they live under Antoninus. Let them live on the
‘ fortune of the family given up amongſt them:
‘ let them enjoy their gold and ſilver plate, and
‘ furniture: let them live in wealth, and ſecurity;
‘ and at their full liberty to ſtay or go as they
‘ pleaſe; and carry with them, among all nations,
‘ the marks of my clemency, and of your's. This
‘ clemency to the wives and children of the pro-
‘ ſcribed, Conſcript fathers, is but a ſmall matter.
‘ I muſt requeſt you further: defend all the con-
‘ ſpirators of the Senatorian or Equeſtrian order,
‘ from death, proſcription, fear, infamy, popu-
‘ lar odium, and all manner of vexation. Allow
‘ it, for the honour of my government; that,
‘ in this caſe of uſurpation, thoſe who were killed
‘ in the ſuppreſſing of the tumult, may be deemed
‘ juſtly ſlain.’

This letter was read with innumerable accla-

mations and bleſſings. The Emperor buried Caſſius's head decently, expreſſing no ſmall grief for the loſs of ſuch a man. He marched immediately to the Eaſt: ſoon appeaſed the revolt, with the greateſt clemency; and reformed many abuſes. When he came to Syria, he burned all the papers of Caſſius without reading them, to prevent entertaining ſuſpicions or hatred againſt any. Some ſay, this had been done by his faithful friend Martius Verus, before his arrival; juſtly preſuming, it would be pleaſing to the good Emperor; and ſaying, if it was not, he could willingly die, to ſave the lives of ſo many of his fellow-citizens.

A. D. 176. Fauſtina died in this expedition, near mount Taurus. The Senate, out of mean flattery, renewed their ſeverity againſt the late conſpirators; thinking it would be ſome alleviation of the Emperor's ſorrow, to ſhew their zeal for him. But, upon the firſt notice of it, he wrote the moſt preſſing letter to the Senate, to ſtop theſe proceedings, concluding, 'If I cannot obtain from 'you the lives of all the conſpirators, I ſhall wiſh 'to die.'

Caſſius's eldeſt ſon Mecianus was killed in his government at Alexandria, on the very day in which Caſſius was killed: his other children were only baniſhed to an iſland; retaining all their e-

ſtates. His daughter, indeed, and ſon-in-law, continued in Rome; and were treated in a friendly manner by Antoninus. The Senate paid extravagant honours to Fauſtina. Antoninus, having ſettled the Eaſt, returned to Rome, after eight years abſence; having extended his liberality to Athens, the old ſeat of learning, heard Ariſtides the orator at Smyrna, and having been initiated in the Eleuſinian myſteries: on this occaſion he gratified the Romans * with magnificent ſhews, and great liberality to the diſtreſſed.

The peace of the empire was ſoon diſturbed by new commotions in the North. The Scythians took arms again, and attacked the Emperor's lieutenants. And he, tho' old and infirm, reſolved upon another expedition: nor could his friends of the Senate, who were exceedingly ſollicitous about his life, diſſuade him from it. He ſpent three days in diſcourſing with them, and adviſing them about ſtate affairs; and about the great principles of philoſophy; and then ſet out for the army. In this expedition, his prudence and valour appeared invariably the ſame, and were always ſucceſsful; tho' the particulars of the wars are not preſerved. But, at Vienna in Auſtria, or at Sirmium, he was ſeized with a diſtemper; which, in a few days, put an end to his glorious life. When he

* A. D. 177.

apprehended there was no hope of his recovery, his ſtrength of mind and reſignation to the divine will, made him eaſy, as to his own death; but his affection to his country gave him conſiderable anxiety. Tho' his ſon had not diſcloſed his vicious diſpoſitions during his life, yet the examples of Nero and Domitian made him dread that any good inſtructions he had received, or any diſpoſitions of his to virtue, would not be able to withſtand the temptations he would be expoſed to in that dangerous elevation. He ſaw his Northern conqueſt very unſettled; and other provinces not ſufficiently eſtabliſhed. With all theſe cares oppreſſing him, his ſickneſs and pains recurred more violently the laſt day of his life, and made him aware of his approaching end: upon this, he called for his principal officers, who ſtood around his bed: he preſented to them his ſon; and, exerting all his ſtrength, he ſate up, and ſpoke to this effect.

'I am not ſurprized that you are troubled to 'ſee me in this condition. It is natural to mankind, to be moved with any ſufferings of their 'fellow-creatures; and, when they are before our 'eyes, they excite a deeper compaſſion. But, you 'are under more peculiar tyes to me. From my 'conſciouſneſs of the moſt ſincere affection to 'you, I preſume you have the like to me. Now

‹ is the opportunity, for me to diſcern that the ho-
‹ nours I have conferred on you, and the long ſe-
‹ ries of kind offices done, were not employed in
‹ vain; and for you, to make grateful returns, and
‹ to ſhew you have not forgot the favours you re-
‹ ceived. You ſee there my ſon, who was educated
‹ by yourſelves, juſt entring into manhood, like
‹ a ſhip in a ſtormy ſea, needing prudent pilots;
‹ leſt, being carried aſide, through want of experi-
‹ ence, he be intirely ſhipwrecked among vices.
‹ Be you to him, therefore, ſo many fathers in my
‹ ſtead; always watching over him, and giving
‹ him good counſels: for, no treaſures can ſatisfy
‹ the luxury of tyrants; nor any guards protect
‹ them, when they have loſt the affections of their
‹ people. Theſe princes only have had ſafe and
‹ long reigns, who have infuſed into the minds of
‹ their people, not any dread by their cruelty, but
‹ an hearty love by their goodneſs. Such alone,
‹ as obey with good-will, and not from neceſſity,
‹ are to be confided in, and will obey their prince,
‹ or ſuffer for him, without flattery and diſſimula-
‹ tion; nor will ſuch ever rebel, or prove refracto-
‹ ry; except when they are forced into it by inſo-
‹ lent oppreſſion. In unlimited power, 'tis hard
‹ to ſet proper meaſures or bounds to men's paſ-
‹ ſions. If you ſuggeſt ſuch thoughts to him, and

‘ keep him in mind of what he now hears, you will
‘ make him an excellent prince to yourſelves, and
‘ to all the ſtate, and do the moſt grateful office to
‘ my memory; as by this alone you can make it
‘ immortal.’

As he was thus ſpeaking, his voice failed, he fell down on the bed, and died next day, in the 59th year of his age. Never was there a more univerſal undiſſembled ſorrow, than what enſued among all ranks; who loudly bewailed his death, with all poſſible encomiums of his virtues: all which were no more than his due; and with the deareſt appellations of their good Emperor, their general, their protector, their father, or their brother.

The only prejudices which can obſtruct the moſt favourable reception of theſe divine meditations, from the author's character, are theſe two: firſt, his continuing in the Pagan religion; even zealouſly ſacrificing to falſe Gods, deifying his predeceſſor, and admitting the like honours to be paid to Verus and Fauſtina: and, ſecondly, his ſuffering the Chriſtians to be perſecuted, during his reign.

As to the firſt, tho' no man of ſenſe can vindicate the Heathen worſhip; as it was full of ridiculous ſuperſtitions; without any proper evidence;

yet, let us not imagine it worſe in the wiſer Heathens, than it truly was. Maximus Tyrius, and many others, aſſure us, that all wiſe men in the Heathen world, believed only one ſupreme God, or, original cauſe, of all. We ſee that Antoninus, and all the Stoics, agreed in this. But, they alſo believed there were many inferior created ſpirits, to whom, the government of certain parts of nature was delegated by the ſupreme God; that the ſouls of ſome good men were advanced to this dignity; and that honours were to be paid to theſe preſiding ſpirits; according to old traditions and cuſtom. Now, this very doctrine generally prevailed, both in the Eaſtern and Weſtern Chriſtian churches, for many centuries; even from the 5th to the reformation; without any other difference than that of ſound; the Heathens uſing the words God, or, Daemon, for what Chriſtians called Angels, and Saints; and both often raiſed to this dignity, the ſouls of perſons, who had very little real virtue. The perſons denoted by theſe names in the Heathen and Chriſtian religions, were, indeed, different. The Heathens worſhipped the old heathen heroes and princes, and the Chriſtians their own heroes and martyrs. Nay the Proteſtants allow that created beings may have delegated powers from God, and be employed as miniſtring ſpirits

to the heirs of ſalvation, in their ſeveral nations; and ſuperintend the civil affairs of them. But, having no particular knowledge who theſe Angels or Saints are, nor how they are employed; nor any evidence that they can know our devotions, our prayers, or expreſſions of gratitude to them; and, ſeeing all ſuch worſhip prohibited in the Holy Scriptures, as it generally has a bad tendency; they univerſally abſtain from it, and condemn it. But, the moral evil of ſuch practices, in thoſe who have had no prohibitions by revelation, is not ſo great as we commonly apprehend it. Some men of little conſtancy in their conduct, who have been guilty of ſome very bad actions, have had alſo ſome eminent virtues not univerſally known. Nay 'tis probable the vices of Fauſtina were never known to Antoninus; (See B. I. 14.) Verus too had his virtues; and many of his vices have been hid from our Author. 'Tis a ſmall fault to err on the charitable ſide, about the dead. Let us ſhew an impartial candour in this matter; remembring what mixed characters are recorded of ſome Jewiſh and Chriſtian authors whoſe works we read with veneration.

As to the ſecond charge, of perſecuting the Chriſtians: let us remember, that we have no proof of his giving orders for it: we can only

charge him with the omiſſion of his duty, in not making a ſtrict inquiry into the cauſe of the Chriſtians: this, tho' a great fault, is leſs than that of the apoſtle Paul, who himſelf perſecuted with great fury; and yet could afterwards truly ſay, he had ſerved God with all good conſcience; that is, ſincerely, according to what he then thought his duty. To extenuate this fault in the Emperor, not to mention his perpetual avocations, by almoſt continual wars, beſide the multitude of civil affairs in ſo vaſt an empire, let us remember, that, whatever better knowledge the inferior magiſtrates might have of the matter of fact, the princes muſt, generally, have had only ſuch views of the Chriſtians as the zealot Pagan prieſts and magiſtrates preſented to them. Now, they were repreſented as a confederacy for the moſt monſtrous wickedneſs; ſuch as, the murdering of infants, and feeding on them, all inceſtuous impurities, avowed Atheiſm, the blaſpheming all the Gods; and rebellion againſt the ſtate. This laſt is the common charge, made by all perſecutors, againſt ſuch as differ from the eſtabliſhed orthodoxy: as we ſee in all the defences of the R. catholic perſecutions in France, and the proteſtant perſecutions in England and Scotland; when the clergy have once perſuaded the legiſlator, impiouſly to invade the pre-

rogatives of God, over the conſciences of men, by penal laws about ſuch religious opinions, and forms of worſhip as are no way hurtful in ſociety.

Under theſe impreſſions of the Chriſtians, a prince of great goodneſs might even directly order a perſecution againſt them; not, indeed, without the guilt of a great omiſſion of his duty; ſince he ought to have made a more thorough inquiry into the matter; and his ignorance could ſcarce be wholly invincible. But, his intention might be only the ſuppreſſion of the moſt odious crimes, which he thought chargeable on the Chriſtians.

But, grant he had perſecuted the Chriſtians upon their religious opinions, their rejecting and reviling the Heathen Gods, and their rites of worſhip: let ſuch as make this objection to his character, conſider, that any perſecution is the more odious, the ſmaller the difference is, between the religious tenets of the perſecutor, and thoſe of the perſecuted; as it ſhews a greater inſolence of pride and ill-nature, to be ſo much provoked for ſuch ſmall differences; and it ſhews alſo the baſer ſentiments about the Deity, to conceive him ſo furious and captious, that the ſmaller miſtakes in opinion or worſhip, can exclude his creatures intirely from his favour, and from all compaſſion or mercy, notwithſtanding their hearty intention and

deſire to pleaſe him, as far as they know what is acceptable to him.

Now, the Chriſtian religion was intirely oppoſite, in every thing almoſt, to the Pagan. It rejected all their popular Gods: nay, the early Chriſtians averred them all to be impure devils, and that their worſhip was inſtituted by ſuch devils; and refuſed any ſort of joint worſhip with them. A devout Heathen, deeply prejudiced by education, in favour of theſe popular Gods, and confirmed by a philoſophy which eſpouſed a good deal of the popular ſuperſtitions, would be under ſtrong temptations from his very devotion, while under theſe miſtakes, to ſuppreſs Chriſtianity: this is a great extenuation of the Emperor's guilt.

But, what ſhall we ſay of Chriſtians perſecuting each other, who yet believe in the ſame God, and the ſame Saviour, and own the ſame grand practical rules of life, of loving God with all our heart, and our neighbour as ourſelves! let none make this objection to Antoninus, but thoſe, who, from their hearts, abhor all Chriſtian perſecutions, who cannot hate their neighbours, or deem them excluded from the divine favour, either for neglecting certain ceremonies, and pieces of outward pageantry, or for exceeding in them; for different opinions, or forms of words, about ſome

metaphyſical attributes or modes of exiſtence, which all ſides own to be quite incomprehenſible by us; for the different opinions about human liberty; about which the beſt men who ever lived have had oppoſite ſentiments: for different opinions about the manner in which the Deity may think fit to exerciſe his mercy to a guilty world, either in pardoning of their ſins, or renewing them in piety and virtue. As for theſe who are conſcious of ſuch ſincere undiſſembled good-will to all, even thoſe whom they think miſtaken in ſuch points; who have no partial attachments to their own parties, from prejudices of education, and their uniting in the ſame cauſe; no vanity or pride exciting any anger at the different opinions of others, oppoſite to what they in their own wiſdom have pronounced ſound and orthodox, and ſo detracting from their ſuperior penetration, and diminiſhing their glory and popularity; thoſe who find the ſimple, peaceful, meek, and humble love of truth alone influencing their ſentiments and a perpetual love to God, and a calm uniform charity operating in their hearts toward all men, even thoſe who deſpiſe and affront their religious ſentiments; perſons of this character, may with ſome ſhew of decency, reject theſe noble devout ſentiments, on account of the author's having perſecuted, or

ſuffered others to perſecute during his reign. But ſuch men will eaſily ſee, that theſe pious and charitable meditations and ſuggeſtions muſt be valuable for their own ſakes, and uſeful to every attentive reader; whatever were the ſins or failings of the author.

'Tis needleſs, I hope, to prevent another ſilly prejudice; as if becauſe the author was not a Chriſtian, he could have no real piety or virtue acceptable to God, none of theſe divine influences, which we are taught are neceſſary to every good work. No doubt, he is not to be defended in his neglecting to examine the evidences of Chriſtianity, or, in not embracing it. But, let men conſider the power of education, and how much he was employed from his very youth, in a conſtant courſe of public buſineſs, which allowed little leiſure. How little probability could there occur to him, that, in a ſect at that time univerſally deſpiſed, and repreſented, not only as weak and illiterate, but moſt horridly impious, immoral, and flagitious, he ſhould find any better inſtructions in theories of religion, or any better motives to virtuous actions, than what were among the philoſophers? we ſee with what a juſt contempt of eaſe, pleaſure, and luxury, he keenly embraced the ſcheme of philoſophy moſt remarkable for piety, auſterity, and

diſintereſted goodneſs; and how long Chriſtian magiſtrates, ſpirited up by the pretended embaſſadors of the meek Jeſus, have been perſecuting their fellow-Chriſtians with fire and ſword; and that for very honourable tenets; often much better than thoſe of the perſecutors. Let this be a warning to all men, againſt raſhly entertaining ill-natured repreſentations of whole ſects or bodies of men. Chriſtians may be aſhamed to cenſure our author on this account; conſidering how raſhly, arrogantly, and preſumptuouſly, they are curſing one another in their ſynodical anathemas; and in their creeds, pronouncing eternal damnation on all who are not within the pale, or hold not the ſame myſterious tenets or forms of words.

'Tis but a late doctrine in the Chriſtian church, that the grace of God, and all divine influences purifying the heart, were confined to ſuch as knew the Chriſtian hiſtory, and were by profeſſion in the Chriſtian church. The earlieſt Chriſtians and martyrs were of a very different opinion. However, they maintained that it is by the merits of our Saviour alone, men can either be juſtified or ſanctified; yet they never denyed theſe bleſſings could be conferred on any who knew not the meritorious or efficient cauſe of them. To maintain they could not, is as abſurd as to aſſert, that a phy-

ſician cannot cure a diſeaſe, unleſs the patient be firſt inſtructed in the whole art of medicine, and know particularly the phyſical principles by which the ſeveral medicines operate. Nay, the early Chriſtians believed the ſpirit of Chriſt operated in Socrates, Plato, and other virtuous Heathens; and that they were Chriſtians in heart, without the hiſtorical knowledge: and, ſure, we may charitably judge the ſame of this Emperor, who plainly depended on God for ſuch ſanctifying influences; and recommends them as the matter of our moſt earneſt prayers; and often, with the deepeſt humility and ſimplicity of heart, * acknowledges that he owes to God's preventing grace, in his providence about him, all thoſe virtuous diſpoſitions, in which he had any delight or complacence.

* B. I. 14. B. IX. 40. B. IV. 26. and in many other places.

THE MEDITATIONS OF THE EMPEROR MARCUS AURELIUS ANTONINUS.

BOOK I.

1. FROM my grandfather [1] Verus I learned to reliſh the beauty of manners, and to reſtrain all anger. From the fame and character my [2] father obtain'd; modeſty and a manly deportment. [3] Of my mother; I learned to be religious, and liberal; and to guard, not only againſt evil acti-

1. ANNIUS VERUS, who had been thrice Conſul, and was made a Senator under Veſpaaſin.

2. Annius Verus, who died when Antoninus was a child.

3 Domitia Calvilla Lu-

ons, but even againſt any evil intentions entering my thoughts; to content myſelf with a ſpare diet, far different from the ſoftneſs and luxury ſo common among the wealthy. Of my great [4] grandfather; [5] not to frequent public ſchools and auditories; but to have good and able teachers at home; and for things of this nature, to account no expence too great.

2. He who had the charge of my education, taught me not to be fondly attached to any of the contending parties [6] in the chariot-races, or in the combats of the gladiators. He taught me alſo to endure labour; not to need many things; to ſerve myſelf, without troubling others; not to intermeddle with the affairs of others, and not eaſily to admit of accuſations againſt them.

3. Of Diognetus; not to buſy myſelf about vain things, not to credit the great profeſſions of ſuch as pretend to work wonders, or of ſorcerers, about their charms, and their expelling Demons; and the like. Not to keep [7] Quails, nor to be

cilla, daughter of Calviſius Tullus, who had been twice Conſul.

4 Probably by the mother, *viz.* Catilius Severus.

5 'Tis not certain whether the negative particle ſhould be here or not.

6 The keenneſs of theſe contentions among the Romans in that age, is abundantly known.

7 For fighting, or incantations.

keen of ſuch things; to allow others all freedom in converſation; and to apply myſelf heartily to philoſophy. Him alſo I muſt thank, for my hearing firſt Bacchius, then Tandaſis, and Marcianus; that I wrote dialogues in my youth, and took a liking to the philoſopher's little couch and ſkins, and ſuch other things, which by the Grecian diſcipline belong to that profeſſion.

4. To Ruſticus I owe my firſt apprehenſions, that my temper needed redreſs and cure, and that I did not fall into the ambition of the common Sophiſts, either in writing upon the ſciences, or exhorting men to philoſophy by public harangues; as alſo, that I never affected to be admired by oſtentation of great patience in an aſcetic life, or of activity and application; and that I gave over the ſtudy of rhetoric, poetry, and the elegance of language; that I did not affect any airs of grandeur, by walking at home in my ſenatorial robe, or by any ſuch things. I obſerved alſo the ſimplicity of ſtyle in his letters, particularly in that, which he wrote to my mother from Sinueſſa. I learned alſo from him an eaſineſs and proneneſs to be reconciled and well pleaſed again with thoſe who had offended me, as ſoon as any of them inclined to be reconciled; to read with diligence; not to reſt ſatisfied with a light and ſuperficial knowledge;

nor quickly to aſſent to great talkers: him alſo I muſt thank, that I met with the diſcourſes of Epictetus which he gave me.

5. From Apollonius I learned true liberty, and invariable ſtedfaſtneſs; and to regard nothing elſe, not even in the ſmalleſt degree, but right and reaſon; and always to remain the ſame man, whether in the ſharpeſt pains, or after the loſs of a child, or in long diſeaſes. To him I owe my ſeeing in a living example, that it was poſſible for the ſame man to be both vehement and remiſs, as occaſion requir'd. I learn'd of him, not to fret when my reaſonings were not apprehended. In him I ſaw an inſtance of a man, who eſteem'd his excellent ſkill and ability in teaching others the principles of philoſophy, the leaſt of all his endowments. Of him alſo I learned how to receive from friends, what are thought favours, ſo as neither to be on that account ſubjected to them, nor yet ſeem inſenſible and ungrateful.

6. From Sextus a pattern of a benign temper, and of a family, governed with true paternal affection and a ſtedfaſt purpoſe of living according to nature; to be grave and venerable, without affectation; to obſerve ſagaciouſly the ſeveral diſpoſitions and inclinations of my friends; not to be offended with the ignorant, or with thoſe who ſol-

low the vulgar opinions without examination: his converſation was an example, how a man may accommodate himſelf to all men and companies; for tho' his company was ſweeter, and more pleaſing than any ſort of flattery, yet he was at the ſame time highly reſpected and reverenced. No man was ever more happy than he in comprehending, finding out, and arranging in exact order, the great maxims neceſſary for the conduct of life. He taught me by his example, to ſuppreſs even the leaſt appearance of anger, or any other paſſion; but ſtill, notwithſtanding this perfect tranquillity, to poſſeſs the tendereſt and moſt affectionate heart; and to be apt to approve and applaud others, and yet without noiſe: to deſire much literature, without oſtentation.

7. From Alexander the critic, to avoid cenſuring others, or flouting at them for a barbariſm, ſoleciſm, or any falſe pronuntiation; but dextrouſly to pronounce the words as they ought, in my anſwering, approving, or arguing the matter, without taking direct notice of the miſtake; or by ſome other ſuch courteous inſinuation.

8. From Fronto; to be ſenſible, how much envy, deceit, and hypocriſy, ſurrounds princes; and that generally thoſe we account nobly born, have ſome how leſs natural affection.

9. Of Alexander the Platoniſt; not often, nor without great neceſſity, to ſay, or write to any man in a letter, that I am not at leiſure, nor thus under pretext of urgent affairs, to decline or defer the duties, which, according to our various ties, we owe to thoſe among whom we live.

10. Of Catulus; not to contemn any friend's expoſtulation, tho' injuſt; but to ſtrive to reduce him to his former diſpoſition: freely and heartily to ſpeak well of all my maſters, upon any occaſion, as it is reported of [1] Domitius, and Athenodotus; and to love my children with true affection.

11. From my brother [2] Severus, to love my kinſmen, and to love truth and juſtice. To him I owe my acquaintance with [3] Thraſeas, Helvidius, Cato, Dion, and Brutus. He gave me alſo the firſt conception of a republic, founded upon equitable laws, and adminiſtred with equality of right; and of a monarchic government, which chiefly regards the liberty of the ſubjects. Of him I learned likewiſe, to maintain a conſtant, diſengaged,

1 There are no other memorials of theſe two perſons.

2 This either the philoſopher Claudius Severus, whom he calls his brother from his ſtrong love to him, or ſome couſin whoſe memory is no otherways preſerved to us.

3 Theſe were eminent characters, in the two preceding ages.

and uninterrupted ſtudy and eſteem of philoſophy; to be bountiful and liberal in the largeſt meaſure; always to hope the beſt; and to be unſuſpicious about the affections of my friends. I obſerved in him a candid openneſs in declaring what he diſliked in the conduct of others; and that his friends might eaſily ſee, without the trouble of conjectures, what he liked or diſliked; ſo open and plain was his behaviour.

12. From Claudius Maximus; in all things to have power over myſelf, and in nothing to be hurried away by any paſſion: to be chearful and couragious in all ſudden accidents, as in ſickneſſes to have an eaſy command of my own temper; to maintain a kind, ſweet, and yet grave deportment; to execute my deſigns vigorouſly without freting: whatever he ſaid, all men believed, he ſpake, as he thought; and that whatever he did, it was with a good intent. He taught me, not to be eaſily aſtoniſhed or confounded with any thing, never to ſeem in a hurry, nor yet to be dilatory, or perplexed, without preſence of mind, or dejected, fretful, angry, or ſuſpicious; and to be ready to do good to others, to forgive, and to ſpeak truth; and in all this, to appear rather like one who had always been ſtraight and right, than ever rectified or redreſſed; nor was there any, who thought

himſelf undervalued by him, or who could find in his heart to think himſelf a better man than him: nor did he ever affect the praiſe of being witty.

13. [1] From my father I learned meekneſs, and conſtancy, without wavering in thoſe things, which after a due examination and deliberation were determined; to be little ſollicitous about the common honours; patience of labour, and aſſiduity, and readineſs to hear any man, who offered any thing tending to the common good; an inflexible juſtice toward all men; a juſt apprehenſion when rigour and extremity, or when remiſſneſs and moderation were in ſeaſon; abſtinence from all impure luſts: and a ſenſe of humanity toward others. Thus he left his friends at liberty, to ſup with him or not, to go abroad with him or not, as they inclined; and they ſtill found him the ſame, after their affairs had hindered them to attend him. I learned of him accuracy and patience of inquiry in all deliberations and counſel. He never quitted the ſearch, ſatisfied with the firſt appearances. I obſerved his zeal to retain his friends, without cloying them, or ſhewing any fooliſh fondneſs; his contentment in every condition; his chearfulneſs; his fore-thought about very diſtant events; his exact care even about ſmall matters, without

1 Antoninus Pius, his father by adoption.

noiſe. How he reſtrained all acclamations and flattery: how vigilantly he obſerved all things neceſſary to the government, and managed accurarely the public revenue, and bore patiently the cenſures of others about theſe things: how he was neither a ſuperſtitious worſhipper of the Gods, nor an ambitious pleaſer of men, nor ſtudious of popularity; but ſober in all things, ſtedfaſt, well-ſkilled in what was honourable, never affecting novelties. As to theſe things which are ſubſervient to eaſe and conveniency, of which his fortune ſupplied him with great affluence; he uſed them without pride, and yet with all freedom; enjoyed them without affectation when they were preſent; and when abſent, he found no want of them. He was not celebrated, either as a learned acute man, or one of a ſharp wit, or as a great declaimer; but a wiſe, experienced, complete man; one who could not bear to be flattered; able to govern both himſelf and others; I further obſerved the great honour he paid to all true philoſophers, without upbraiding thoſe who were not ſo; his ſociableneſs, his gracious and delightful converſation, without cloying. His regular moderate care of his body, neither like one deſirous of long life, or over ſtudious of neatneſs, and elegancy; and yet not as one who deſpiſed it: thus, through

his own care, he ſeldom needed any internal medicines, or outward applications: but eſpecially how ingenuouſly he would yield without envy, to any who had obtained any peculiar faculty, as either eloquence, or the knowledge of the laws, or of antient cuſtoms, or the like; and how he concurred with them ſtrenuouſly, that every one of them might be regarded and eſteemed, for that in which he excelled; and altho' he obſerved carefully the antient cuſtoms of his forefathers, yet it was without oſtentation. Again, how he was not fickle and capricious, but loved to continue both in the ſame places and buſineſſes; and how after his violent fits of the head-ach, he returned freſh and vigorous to his wonted affairs. Again, that he neither had many ſecrets, nor often; and ſuch only as concerned public matters: his diſcretion and moderation, in exhibiting of ſhows for the entertainment of the people, in public buildings, largeſſes, and the like. In all theſe things he acted like one who regarded only what was right and becoming in the things themſelves, and not the applauſes which might follow. He never bathed at unſeaſonable hours; had no vanity in building; was never ſolicitous, either about his meat, or about the nice workmanſhip or colour of his cloaths, or about the beauty of his ſervants. His apparel

was plain and homely, ſuch as that he choſe to wear at Lorium, cloth made at Lunuvium; and at Tuſculum, he wore a ſhort cloak, ſometimes making apologies for the plainneſs of his dreſs. His converſation was far from any inhumanity; or incivility, or impetuoſity; never doing any thing with ſuch keenneſs that one could ſay [1] he was ſweating about it; but on the contrary, in all things, he acted diſtinctly, as at leiſure, without confuſion, regularly, reſolutely, and gracefully. A man might have applied that to him which is recorded of Socrates, that he knew both how to abſtain from or enjoy thoſe things, in want whereof moſt men ſhew themſelves weak; and in the fruition, intemperate: he remained firm and conſtant in both events, with a juſt ſelf-government, and ſhewed a perfect and invincible ſoul; ſuch as appeared in him during the ſickneſs of Maximus.

14. To the Gods I owe my having good grandfathers, and parents, a good ſiſter, good maſters, good domeſticks, affectionate kinſmen, and friends, and almoſt all things good: and that I never thro' haſte and raſhneſs offended any of them; tho' I had ſuch a temper as might have led me to it, had occaſion offer'd; but by the goodneſs of the Gods, no ſuch concurrence of circumſtances

1 This was a proverbial expreſſion.

happen'd as could diſcover my weakneſs: that I was not long brought up with my father's concubine; that I retained my modeſty, and refrained from all venereal enjoyments, even longer than was neceſſary; that I lived under the government of ſuch a prince and father, who took away from me all pride and vain-glory, and convinced me, that it was not impoſſible for a prince to live in a court, without guards, extraordinary apparel, torches, ſtatues, or ſuch pieces of ſtate and magnificence; but that he may reduce himſelf almoſt to the ſtate of a private man, and yet not become more mean or remiſs in thoſe public affairs, wherein power and authority are requiſite. That I have had ſuch a brother [1], as by his diſpoſition might ſtir me up to take care of myſelf; and yet by his reſpect and love delighted me; that my children wanted not good natural diſpoſitions, nor were diſtorted or deformed in body; that I was no great proficient in the ſtudies of rhetoric and poetry, and in other faculties, which might have engroſſed my mind, had I found myſelf ſuc-

1 Probably Verus, whoſe vicious paſſions might rouſe this excellent man's attention to himſelf, or perhaps Antoninus did not know his vices for a great part of his life, and 'tis certain Verus had a great eſteem for Antoninus, and was a man of ability.

ceſsful in them; that I prevented the expectations of thoſe, by whom I was brought up, in promoting them to the places and dignities, they ſeem'd moſt to deſire; that I did not put them off, in the common way, with hopes and excuſes that ſince they were but young I would do it hereafter. I owe to the Gods that ever I knew Apollonius, Ruſticus and Maximus; that I have had occaſion often and effectually to meditate with myſelf and inquire what is truly the life according to nature; ſo that, as for the Gods, and ſuch ſuggeſtions, helps and inſpirations, as might be expected from them, I might have already attained to that life which is according to nature; and it was my own fault that I did not ſooner, by not obſerving the inward motions and ſuggeſtions, yea, and almoſt plain and apparent inſtructions of the Gods; that my body, in ſuch a life, hath been able to hold out ſo long; that I never had to do with [1] Benedicta and Theodotus, yea, and afterwards, when I fell into ſome fooliſh paſſions, that I was ſoon cured; that, having been often diſpleaſed with Ruſticus, I never did any thing to him, for which afterwards I had occaſion to repent: that ſince it

1 Theſe two perſons are unknown, 'tis poſſible they have been remarkably dangerous to the youth at court.

was my mother's fate to die young, ſhe lived with me all her latter years: that as often as I inclined to ſuccour any who were either poor, or fallen into ſome diſtreſs, I was never anſwered by the managers of my revenues that there was not ready money enough to do it; and that I myſelf never had occaſion for the like ſuccour from any other; that I have ſuch a wife, ſo obedient, ſo loving, ſo ingenuous; that I had choice of fit and able men, to whom I might commit the education of my children; that by dreams I have received divine aids, as, for other things, ſo, in particular, how I might ſtay my ſpitting of blood, and cure my vertigo, which happen'd ſucceſsfully to me at Cajeta; and, that, when I firſt applied myſelf to philoſophy, I did not fall into the hands of ſome ſophiſt, nor ſpent my time in reading many volumes, nor embarraſſed myſelf in the ſolution of ſophiſms, nor dwelt upon the ſtudy of the meteors. All theſe things could not have thus concurred, without the aſſiſtance of the Gods and [2] fortune.

Theſe things in the country of the Quadi near Granua.

1 See B. II. art. 3.

BOOK II.

SAY thus to thyſelf every morning: to day I may have to do with ſome intermeddler in other mens affairs, with an ungrateful man; an inſolent, or a crafty, or an envious, or an unſociable ſelfiſh man. Theſe bad qualities have befallen them through their ignorance of what things are truly good or evil. But I have fully comprehended the nature of good as [1] only what is beautiful and honourable; and of evil, that it is always deformed and ſhameful; and the nature of thoſe perſons too [2] who miſtake their aim; that they are my kinſmen, by partaking, not of the ſame blood or ſeed, but of the ſame [3] intelligent divine part; and that I cannot be hurt by any of them, ſince none of them can involve me in any

1 This, according to the high ſtyle of the Stoics, that virtuous affections and actions are the ſole good, and the contrary the ſole evil.

2 This is the meek ſentiment of Socrates, that as all error is involuntary, ſo no man is willingly unjuſt or wicked in his actions: ſince all deſire truth and goodneſs.

3 The Stoics ſpoke of the rational ſoul, as a part of the Divinity, taken from that infinite intelligent aethereal nature, which pervades and ſurrounds all things.

thing diſhonourable or deformed. I cannot be angry at my kinſmen, or hate them. We were formed by nature for mutual aſſiſtance, as the two feet, the hands, the eye-lids, the upper and lower rows of teeth. Oppoſition to each other is contrary to nature: all anger and averſion is an oppoſition.

2. Whatſoever I am, is either this [1] poor fleſh, or the animal ſpirit, or the governing part. Quit your books: be no longer diſtracted with different views. You have it in your own power. As one who is ſhortly to die, deſpiſe this fleſhly part, this putrifying blood, and bones, and the net-work texture of nerves, veins, arteries. Conſider the nature of mere animal ſpirit or life, air, and that always changing, breathed forth and drawn in again. The third part is that which governs. Think thus: you are now old; ſuffer not that noble part to be enſlaved, or moved about by [2] unſociable

1 The apoſtle Paul alludes to this notion in praying that we may be ſanctified in ſoul, ſpirit, and body: many antients conceived in men two principles diſtinct from the body, one the animal ſoul or life, like that in beaſts, the other the rational, like the divinities or angels. In the former, which they ſuppoſed to be air, they placed all the ſenſations and paſſions. See B. III. art. 16.

2. A metaphor from puppets, mov'd by others. Such are men when led by their paſſions againſt what their higher faculties incline to and recommend.

paſſions, without its own approbation. Repine no more at what now befals you according to fate, nor dread what may befal you hereafter.

3. Whatever the Gods ordain, is full of wiſe Providence. What we aſcribe to fortune, happens not without a preſiding nature, nor without a connexion and intertexture with the things ordered by Providence. Thence all things flow. Conſider, too, the neceſſity of theſe events; and their utility to that whole univerſe of which you are a part. In every regular ſtructure, that muſt always be good to a part, which the nature of the whole requires, and which tends to preſerve it. Now, the univerſe is preſerved, as, by the [1] changes of the Elements, ſo, by the changes of the complex forms. Let theſe thoughts ſuffice; let them be your maxims, laying aſide that thirſt after multitudes of books; that you may die without repining, meek, and well ſatisfied, and ſincerely grateful to the Gods.

4. Remember how long you have put off theſe things; and how often you have neglected to uſe the opportunities offered you by the Gods. It is

1 The Stoics ſuppoſed that aether condenſed, produced air, air condenſed became water, and water thus too became earth: that earth was rarified into water; water into air, and air into aether. And theſe changes were always going on in the univerſe.

high time to underſtand what ſort of whole you are a part of; and who that Preſident in the univerſe is, from whom you flowed, as a ſmall ſtream from a great fountain. There is a certain time appointed for you, which, if you don't employ in making all calm and ſerene within you, it will paſs away, and you along with it; and never more return.

5. Let this be your ſtedfaſt purpoſe to act continually, in all affairs, as becomes a Roman, and a man, with true unaffected dignity, kindneſs of heart, freedom, and juſtice; and diſentangle your ſoul from other ſolicitudes. You ſhall thus diſentangle yourſelf, if you perform each action as if it were your laſt; without temerity, or any paſſionate averſion to what reaſon approves; without hypocriſy or ſelfiſhneſs, or freting at what Providence appoints. You ſee how few theſe maxims are, to which, whoever adheres, may live a proſperous and divine life. If a man obſerve theſe things, the Gods require no more of him.

6. Go on, go on, O my ſoul! to affront and diſhonour thyſelf! yet a little while, and the time to honour thyſelf ſhall be gone. Each man's life is flying away, and thine is almoſt gone, before thou haſt paid [1] juſt honour to thyſelf; having

1 'Tis one of the moſt ſ antient maxims or precepts,

hitherto made thy happineſs dependent on the minds and opinions of others.

7. Let nothing which befals thee from without diſtract thee; and take leiſure to thyſelf, to learn ſomething truly good. Wander no more to and fro; and guard alſo againſt this other wandering. For there are ſome too who trifle away their activity, by wearying themſelves in life, without having a ſettled ſcope or mark, to which they may direct all their deſires and all their projects.

8. Seldom are any found unhappy for not obſerving the motions and intentions in the ſouls of others. But ſuch as obſerve not well the motions of their own ſouls, or their affections, muſt neceſſarily be unhappy.

'Reverence or ſtand in awe 'of thyſelf' which is the moſt remote from any encouraging of pride or vanity. It means, that men, conſcious of the dignity of their nature, and of that temper of ſoul, and courſe of action which they muſt approve, ſhould continually endeavour to behave ſuitably to their dignity, in preſerving that temper, and practiſing ſuch actions, with a ſincere ſimple view to anſwer the end for which God created them, with ſuch dignity and ſuch endowments; and be aſhamed to act unſuitably to them. Now, to be influenced by views of glory from men, is what Antoninus here reckons among the diſhonours or affronts done to ourſelves. See art. 16. of this Book. and B. III. art. 6. and others.

9. Remember theſe things always: what the the nature of the univerſe is: what thine own nature: and how related to the univerſe: what ſort of part thou art, and of what ſort of whole: and that no man can hinder thee to act and ſpeak what is agreeable to that whole, of which thou art a part.

10. Theophraſtus, as becomes a philoſopher, ſays juſtly, that in comparing crimes together, 1 (for in a popular ſtyle they may be compared) theſe are greater, which men are incited to, by luſt, or deſire of pleaſure, than thoſe which flow from anger. For the angry man ſeems to be turned from right reaſon, by a ſort of pain and contraction ſeizing him unawares. But he who ſins from luſt, conquer'd by pleaſure, ſeems more diſſolute, weak, and effeminate in his vices. He ſays juſtly, and as becomes the dignity of a philoſopher, that the crime committed for pleaſure, deſerves an higher cenſure, than that committed from the impulſe of pain. One in the latter caſe ſeems like a perſon who is forced into anger by injuries firſt received; but one in the former, like him

1 It was one of the paradoxes of the Stoics, that all crimes were equal, and ſo no occaſion for compariſons.

who firſt injures another, at the inſtigation of ſome luſt of pleaſure.

11. Undertake each action as one aware he may next moment depart out of life. To depart from men, if there be really Gods, can have nothing terrible in it. The Gods will involve you in no evil. If there are no Gods, or, if they have no regard to human affairs, why ſhould I deſire to live in a world without Gods, and without providence? But Gods there are, undoubtedly, and they regard human affairs; and have put it wholly in our power, that we ſhould not fall into what is [1] truly evil. Were there any real evil in other things, they would have alſo put it in the power of man to have avoided them altogether. But how can that which makes not one a worſe man, be ſaid to make a man's life worſe? and it could neither be from any ignorance, or want of power, to prevent or rectify them, when it knew them, that the nature preſiding in the whole has overlooked ſuch things. We cannot aſcribe ſuch groſs miſconduct to it, either from want of power, or want of ſkill, as that good and evil ſhould happen confuſedly and promiſcuouſly, both to good and bad men. Now, death and life, glory and reproach, pain and pleaſure, riches and poverty, all theſe happen promiſ-

1 That is, moral evil, or, vice.

cuouſly to the good and bad. But as they are neither honourable nor ſhameful, they are therefore neither good nor evil.

12. 'Tis the office of our rational power, to apprehend how ſwiftly all things vaniſh. How the corporeal forms, are ſwallowed up in the material World, and the memory of them in the tide of ages. Such are all ſenſible things, eſpecially thoſe which enſnare us by pleaſure, or terrify us by pain, or are celebrated with ſuch vanity. How mean, how deſpicable, how ſordid, how periſhable, how dead are they! what ſort of creatures are they, whoſe voices beſtow renown? What is it to die? would one conſider it alone, and by cloſe thought ſtrip it of thoſe horrible maſks with which it is dreſſed, would he not ſee it to be a work of nature, and nothing elſe? he muſt be a child, who dreads what is natural. Nay, it is not only a work of nature, but uſeful to nature. Our rational power ſhould apprehend, too, how a man is related to God, and by what part; and in what ſtate this part ſhall be, when it returns to him again.

13. Nothing is more miſerable, ſays one, than he who ranges over all things, and dives even into things below the earth, and ſtrives by conjectures to diſcover what is in the ſouls of others a-

round him, and yet is not ſenſible of this, that it is ſufficient for a man to dwell and converſe with that [1] divinity which is within him, and pay it the genuine worſhip. It is then worſhipped and honoured, when it is kept pure from every paſſion, and folly, and from repining at any thing done by Gods or men. Whatever is done by the Gods, is venerable for its excellence. What flows from men, we ſhould entertain with love, ſince they are our kinſmen; or, ſometimes, with pity, as proceeding from their ignorance of good and evil. They are not leſs pityably maimed by this defect, this blindneſs, than by that which hinders them to diſtinguiſh between black and white.

14. [2] If thou ſhouldſt live three thouſand years, or as many myriads, yet remember this, that no man loſes any other life than that he now lives; and that he now lives no other life than what he is parting with, every inſtant. The longeſt life, and the ſhorteſt, come to one effect: ſince the preſent time is equal to all, what is loſt or parted with is equal to all. And for the ſame rea-

1 Thus the Stoics call the rational ſoul, the ſeat of knowledge and virtue: deeming it a part of the Divinity, ever pervaded, attracted, and inſpired by it to all moral good, when the lower paſſions are reſtrained.

2 The firſt ſentiment in this paragraph, is too ſubtile and frigid.

ſon, what is parted with, is only a moment. No man at death parts with, or, is deprived of, what is either paſt or future. For how can one take from a man what he hath not? We ſhould alſo remember theſe things, firſt, that all things which have happened in the continued revolutions from eternity, are of the ſame kind with what we behold: and 'tis of little conſequence, whether a man beholds the ſame things for an hundred years, or an infinite duration. Again, that the longeſt and the ſhorteſt liver have an equal loſs at death. The preſent moment is all which either is deprived of, ſince that is all he has. A man cannot part with what he has not.

15. All depends upon opinion; as the ſayings of Monimus make evident. The uſefulneſs of his ſayings appear, if one attend to his pleaſantries, as far as truth confirms them.

16. The ſoul affronts itſelf, when it becomes, as far as it can, an abſceſs or wen in the univerſe. Freting at what happens, is making itſelf an abſceſs from that nature, which contains all other parts. Again, when it has averſion to any man, and oppoſes him with intention to hurt him, as wrathful men do. And thirdly, it affronts itſelf, when conquered by pleaſure or pain. Fourthly, when it does or ſays any thing hypo-

critically, feignedly, or falſly. Fifthly, when it does not direct to ſome proper end all its deſires and actions, but exerts them inconſiderately, without underſtanding. Whereas, even the ſmalleſt things ſhould be referred to the end. Now, the end of rational beings ſhould be this, to follow the [1] reaſon and law of their moſt antient and venerable city or country.

17. The duration of human life is a point; its ſubſtance perpetually flowing; the ſenſes obſcure; and the compound body tending to putrefaction: the ſoul is reſtleſs, fortune uncertain, and fame injudicious. To ſum up all, the body, and all things related to it, are like a river; what belongs to the animal life, is a dream, and ſmoak; life a warfare, and a journey in a ſtrange land; ſurviving fame is but oblivion. What is it then, which can conduct us honourably out of life, and accompany us in our future progreſs? Philoſophy alone. And this conſiſts in preſerving the divinity within us free from all affronts and injuries, ſuperior to pleaſure and pain, doing nothing either inconſiderately, or inſincerely and hy-

1 By this country or ſtate is underſtood the univerſe governed by God. The end therefore is acting the part God has appointed to us by the conſtitution of our nature.

pocritically; independent on what others may do or not do: embracing chearfully whatever befalls or is appointed, as coming from him, from whom itſelf was derived; and, above all, expecting death with calm ſatisfaction, as conceiving it to be only a diſſolution of theſe elements, of which every animal is compounded. And if no harm befalls the elements when each is [1] changed into the other, why ſhould one ſuſpect any harm in the changes and [2] diſſolution of them all? it is natural, and nothing natural can be evil. This at Carnuntum.

1 Earth to water, water to air, air to fire, and ſo backwards.

2 Perhaps he intends the univerſal deſtruction of this world. See X. 7.

BOOK III.

1. ONE ought to conſider, not only that, each day, a part of his life is ſpent, and the remainder grown leſs, but that it is very uncertain, tho' he ſhould live longer, whether his underſtanding ſhall continue equally ſufficient for his buſineſs, and for thoſe theories which make one ſkilled in things divine and human. For if one begin to dote in theſe things, he may, perhaps, continue to breathe, to receive nouriſhment, to have vain imaginations, and exert the low appetites; but the true power of governing himſelf, of performing completely the duties of life, of conſidering diſtinctly all appearances which ſtrike the imagination, and of judging well this very point, whether he ſhould depart from life or not, and all other powers which require a well exerciſed vigorous underſtanding, muſt be entirely extinguiſhed in him. We ſhould, therefore, make haſte, not only becauſe death is every day ſo much nearer, but becauſe the power of conſidering well and underſtanding things, often leaves us before death.

2. This alſo ſhould be obſerved, that ſuch things as enſue upon what is well conſtituted by nature, have alſo ſomething graceful and attractive. Thus,

ſome parts of a well baked loaf will crack and become rugged. What is thus cleft beyond the deſign of the baker, looks well, and invites the appetite. So when figs are at the ripeſt, they begin to crack. Thus in full ripe olives, their approach to putrefaction gives the proper beauty to the fruit. Thus, the laden'd ear of corn hanging down, the ſtern brow of the lyon, and the foam flowing from the mouth of the wild boar, and many other things, conſidered apart, have nothing comely; yet becauſe of their connexion with things natural, they adorn them, and delight the ſpectator. Thus, to one who has a deep affection of ſoul, and penetration into the conſtitution of the whole, ſcarce any thing connected with nature will fail to recommend itſelf agreeably to him. Thus, the real vaſt jaws of ſavage beaſts will pleaſe him, no leſs than the imitations of them by painters or ſtatuaries. With like pleaſure will his chaſte eyes behold the maturity and grace of old age in man or woman, and the inviting charms of youth. Many ſuch things will he experience, not credible to all, but only to thoſe who have the genuine affection of ſoul toward nature and its works.

3. Hippocrates after conquering many diſeaſes, yielded to a diſeaſe at laſt. The Chaldeans foretold the fatal hours of multitudes, and fate afterwards

carried themſelves away. Alexander, Pompey, and Caius Caeſar, who ſo often razed whole cities, and cut off in battle ſo many myriads of horſe and foot, at laſt departed from this life themſelves. Heraclitus, who wrote ſo much about the conflagration of the univerſe, died ſwollen with water, and bedaubed with ox-dung. Vermin deſtroyed Democritus, [the inventor of the atomical philoſophy:] and another ſort of vermin deſtroyed Socrates. To what purpoſe all this? You have gone aboard, made your voyage, arrived to your port, go aſhore. If into another life and world, the Gods are alſo there: if into a ſtate of inſenſibility; at leaſt you ſhall be no longer diſturbed by ſenſual pleaſure or pain, or be in ſlavery to this mean corporeal veſſel. Is not the ſoul, which is often enſlaved to it, much more excellent than the body? The ſoul is intelligence and deity. The body, earth, and putrifying blood.

4. Spend not the remainder of your life in conjectures about others, except where it is ſubſervient to ſome public intereſt: conjecturing what ſuch a one is doing, and with what view, what he is ſaying, what he is thinking, what he is projecting, and ſuch like; this attention to the affairs of others, makes one wander from his own buſineſs, the guarding of his own ſoul. We ought,

therefore, to exclude from the ſeries of our thoughts, whatever is ſuperfluous or vain; and much more every thing intermeddling and ill-natur'd; and enure ourſelves to think on ſuch things, as, if we were of a ſudden examined, what are we now muſing upon, we could freely anſwer, ſuch or ſuch matters: ſo that all within might appear ſimple and good-natured, ſuch as becomes a ſocial being, who deſpiſes pleaſure, and all ſenſual enjoyment, and is free from emulation, envy, ſuſpicion, or any other paſſion that we would bluſh to own we were now indulging in our minds. A man thus diſpoſed wants nothing to entitle him to the higheſt dignity, of a prieſt and fellow-worker with the Gods, who rightly employs the divinity within him; which can make the man undefiled by pleaſure, invincible by pain, inacceſſible to reproach, or any injuries from others: a victorious champion in the nobleſt contention, that againſt the paſſions: deeply tinctured with juſtice; embracing with all his heart whatever befalls, or is appointed by Providence. Seldom ſolicitous, and that not without ſome generous public view, what another ſays, does, or intends: ſolely intent on his own conduct, and thinking continually on what is appointed to him by the Governor of the univerſe. Making his own

conduct beautiful and honourable; and perſuaded that what Providence orders is good. For, each one's lot is brought upon him by Providence, and is advantageous to him. Remember, that, whatever is rational, is a-kin to thee, and that it ſuits human nature to take care of every thing human. Nor ought we to deſire glory from all, but only from thoſe who live agreeably to nature. For others; ſtill remember, how they live at home, how abroad, how in the dark, how in the light, and with what a wretched maſs they are blended. Thus, one won't value the praiſe of ſuch men, for they cannot pleaſe or applaud themſelves.

5. Do nothing with reluctance, or forgetting the [1] kind ſocial bond, or without full inquiry, or hurried into it by any paſſion. Seek not to ſet off your thoughts with ſtudied elegance. be neither a great talker, nor undertaker of many things. And let the God within thee find he rules a man of courage, an aged man, a good citizen, a Roman, who regulates his life, as waiting for the ſignal to retreat out of it, without re-

1 The Stoics always maintained, that by the very conſtitution of our nature, all men are recommended to the affectionate good-will of all: which would always appear, were it not for the interfering of falſly imagined intereſts.

luctance at his diſſolution; who needs not for a bond of obedience, either the tie of an oath, or the obſervation of others. Join alſo a chearful countenance, an independence on the ſervices of others, a mind which needs not retirement from the world, to obtain tranquillity; but can maintain it without the aſſiſtance of others. One ſhould rather appear to have been always ſtraight and right, and not as amended or rectified.

6. If you can find any thing in human life better than juſtice, truth, temperance, fortitude; or, to ſum up all, than to have your mind perfectly ſatisfied with what actions you are engaged in by right reaſon, and what Providence orders independently of your choice: if you find any thing better, I ſay, turn to it with all your ſoul, and enjoy the noble diſcovery. But if nothing appears more excellent than the divinity ſeated within you, when it hath ſubjected to itſelf all its paſſions, examined all appearances which may excite them, and, as Socrates expreſſes it, has torn itſelf off from the attachments to ſenſe; has ſubjected itſelf to the Gods; and has an affectionate care of mankind: if you find all things mean and deſpicable in compariſon with this, give place to nothing elſe: for, if you once give way, and lean towards any thing elſe, you will not be able, with-

out diſtraction of mind, to preſerve the preference of eſteem and honour to your own proper and true good. For it is againſt the law of juſtice, that any thing of a different kind withſtand the proper good of the rational and ſocial nature; ſuch as the views of popular applauſe, power, riches, or ſenſual enjoyments. All theſe things, if we allow them even for a little to appear ſuitable to our nature, immediately become our maſters and hurry us away. But do you I ſay, with liberty, and ſimplicity of heart, chuſe what is moſt excellent, and hold to it reſolutely. What is moſt excellent is moſt advantageous. If ſo to the rational nature, retain it; but if only to the animal, renounce it. And preſerve the judging power unbyaſſed by external appearances, that it may make a juſt and impartial inquiry.

7. Never value that as advantageous, which may force you to break your faith; to quit your modeſty, or ſenſe of honour; to hate, ſuſpect, or imprecate evil on any one; to diſſemble; or to deſire any of theſe things which need walls or curtains to conceal them. He who to all things prefers the ſoul, the divinity within him, and the ſacred myſteries of its virtues, makes no tragical exclamations, complaints, or groans. He needs neither ſolitude nor a croud; and, what is grea-

teſt of all, he lives without either deſires or fears of death. And whether the ſoul ſhall uſe this ſurrounding body, for a longer or ſhorter ſpace, gives him no ſolicitude. Were he to depart this moment, he is as ready for it, as for any other work, which can be gracefully, and with honour, accompliſhed; guarding in the whole of life againſt this alone, that his ſoul ſhould ever decline, or be averſe to any thing which becomes the rational and ſocial nature.

8. In the well-diſciplined and purified mind you will find nothing putrid, impure, or unſound. Fate can never ſurpriſe his life unfiniſh'd, as one ſays of a tragedian who goes off before he ends his part: you will find nothing ſervile or oſtentatious, or ſubjected to others by any partial bond; nor yet broken off from them, by any hatred; nothing which needs correction or concealment.

9. Cultivate with all care that power which forms opinions: all depends on this, that no opinion thy ſoul entertains, be inconſiſtent with the nature and conſtitution of the rational animals. Our natural conſtitution and furniture is intended to ſecure us from falſe and raſh aſſent, to engage us in kindneſs to all men, and in obedience to the Gods.

10. Quit, therefore, other things, and retain

theſe few. Remember alſo that each man lives only the preſent moment: the reſt of time is either ſpent and gone, or is quite unknown. It is a very little time which each man lives, and in a ſmall corner of the earth; and the longeſt ſurviving fame is but ſhort, and this conveyed through a ſucceſſion of poor mortals, each preſently a-dying; men who neither knew themſelves, nor the perſons long ſince dead.

11. To the former ſubjoin this further rule: to make an accurate definition or deſcription of every thing which ſtrikes the imagination, ſo as to view what ſort of thing it is in its own nature, and in all its parts conſidered diſtinctly; and give it, with thyſelf, its proper name, and to all the parts in its compoſition, into which alſo it muſt be reſolved. Nothing is more effectual for giving magnanimity, than a methodical true examination of every thing which may happen in life, and while you conſider them, to revolve at the ſame time, in what ſort of regular univerſe they happen, for what uſe they are fit, of what importance they are to the whole, of what to man, the citizen of that higher city, of which the other cities and ſtates are but as families. To examine what that is which affects the mind, of what compounded, how long it can endure, and

what virtue it is fit to exerciſe; ſuch as meekneſs, fortitude, truth, fidelity, ſimplicity, contentment, or the reſt? We ſhould therefore ſay of each event, This comes from God; this happens according to that deſtin'd contexture and connexion of events, or by conjunction with them in fortune; this comes from one of my own tribe, my kinſman, my friend, ignorant, perhaps, of what is agreeable to nature: but I am not ignorant of what is ſo; and, therefore, I muſt behave toward him with good-will and juſtice, according to the natural and ſocial law. As to things [1] indifferent, I purſue them according to their real eſtimation or value.

12. If, in conſequence of right reaſoning upon natural principles you diſcharge your preſent duty with diligence, reſolution, and benignity, without any bye views, and keep unviolated and pure the divinity within you as if juſt now about to reſtore it to the Gods who gave it: if you adhere to this without further deſires or averſions, compleatly ſatisfied in diſcharging your preſent offices according to nature, and in the heroic ſincerity of

1 Thus the Stoics call all the goods or evils of fortune, relating to our bodies or eſtates: which they allowed to have ſome value, or eſtimation, or importance, but would not call them abſolutely good or evil.

all your profeſſions, you will live happily. Now your doing this none can hinder.

13. As [1] phyſicians have always their machines and inſtruments at hand for ſudden occaſions, ſo have you always at hand the grand maxims requiſite for underſtanding things divine and human, and for doing every thing, even the moſt minute, as aware of the connexion between theſe two. For, neither will you rightly diſcharge any duty to men, nor any duty to God, if, at the ſame time, you regard not the connexion between things human and divine.

14. Quit your wandering: for you are neither like to read over again your own commentaries and meditations, or the actions of the antient Greeks and Romans, or the collections you have made out of the writings of others, which you have been ſtoring up for your old age. Make haſte, then, to your proper end: caſt away vain hopes; and ſpeedily ſuccour yourſelf if you have that care of yourſelf; you may at preſent.

15. Men don't underſtand how many things are ſignified by theſe words, [2] to ſteal, to ſow, to purchaſe, to be in tranquillity, to diſcern what's

1 The ſame perſon was phyſician, chirurgeon, and apothecary among the antient Greeks and Romans.

2 The Stoics made frequent uſe of theſe words

to be done. The bodily eye ſees not theſe things: another ſort of ſight muſt diſcern them.

16. The body, the animal ſoul, the intellectual. To the body belong the ſenſes: to the animal ſoul, the appetites and paſſions: to the intellectual, the maxims of life. To have ſenſible impreſſions exciting imaginations, is common to us with the cattle. To be moved, like puppets, by appetites and paſſions, is common to us with the wild beaſts, with the moſt effeminate wretches, Phalaris, and Nero, with Atheiſts, and with traitors to their country. If theſe things, then, are common to the loweſt and moſt odious characters, this muſt remain as peculiar to the good man; to have the intellectual part governing and directing him in all the occurring offices of life; to love and embrace all which happens to him by order of Providence; to preſerve the divinity placed in his breaſt, pure, undiſturbed by a croud of imaginations, and ever calm and well-pleaſed, and to follow with a graceful reverence the dictates of it as of a God; never ſpeaking againſt truth, or acting againſt juſtice. And, tho' no man believe he

metaphorically in their moral reaſonings about the virtues and vices of their conduct, and the natural events in the univerſe. See B. IV. 36. for one inſtance.

2 See above, B. II. art. 2.

thus lived, with ſimplicity, modeſty, and tranquillity; he neither takes this amiſs from any one; nor quits the road which leads to the true end of life; at which he ought to arrive pure, calm, ready to part with life, and accommodated to his lot without reluctance.

BOOK IV.

1. WHEN the governing part is in its natural ſtate, it can eaſily change and adapt itſelf to whatever occurs as the matter of its exerciſe. It is not fondly ſet upon any one ſort of action. It goes about what ſeems preferable, with a proper [1] reſervation, and if any thing contrary be caſt in, makes this alſo the matter of its proper exerciſe. As a fire, when it maſters the things which fall on it, tho' they would have extinguiſhed a ſmall lamp: the bright fire quickly aſſimilates to itſelf and conſumes what is thrown into it, and even thence increaſes its own ſtrength.

2. Let nothing be done at random, but according to the compleat rules of art.

1 The word here tranſlated reſervation, is a noted one among the Stoics, often uſed in Epictetus, Arrian, and Simplicius. It means this, that we be ſtill aware that all external things depend on fortune, and are not in our power; and that our ſole good is in our own affections, purpoſes, and actions: if therefore we meet with external obſtacles to our outward actions, we may ſtill retain our own proper good; and can exert proper affections and actions upon theſe very obſtacles; by reſignation to God, patience under injury; good-will toward even ſuch as oppoſe us, and by perſiſting in any good offices, which remain in our power.

3. They ſeek retirements in the country, on the ſea-coaſts, or mountains: you too uſed to be fond of ſuch things. But this is all from ignorance. A man may any hour he pleaſes retire into himſelf; and no where will he find a place of more quiet and leiſure than in his own ſoul: eſpecially if he has that furniture within, the view of which immediately gives him the fulleſt tranquillity. By tranquillity, I mean the moſt graceful order. Allow yourſelf continually this retirement, and refreſh and renew yourſelf. Have alſo at hand ſome ſhort elementary maxims, which may readily occur, and ſuffice to waſh away all trouble, and ſend you back without fretting at any of the affairs to which you return. What vice of mankind can you be chagrin'd with, when you recollect the maxim, that ‹ all rational beings were ‹ formed for each other;' and that, ‹ bearing ‹ with them is a branch of juſtice,' and that, ‹ all ‹ miſtakes and errors are involuntary,' and ‹ how ‹ many of thoſe who lived in enmity, ſuſ‹ picion, hatred, and quarrels, have been ſtretch‹ ed on their funeral piles, and turned to aſhes?' ceaſe, then, from ſuch paſſions. Will you fret at that diſtribution which comes from the Whole, when you renew in your remembrance that disjunctive maxim: ‹ either it is Providence which diſpoſes

‹ of all things, or atoms;' or recollect how many have proved the univerſe to be a regular ſtate, under one polity. Or will you be touched with what regards your body, when you conſider, that the intellectual or governing part, when it once recovers itſelf, and knows its own power, is not concerned in the impreſſions made on the animal ſoul, whether grateful or harſh. Recall, too, all you have heard and aſſented to, about pleaſure and pain. Or ſhall the little affair of character and glory diſturb you, when you reflect how all things ſhall be involved in oblivion; and the vaſt immenſity of eternal duration on both ſides; how empty the noiſy echo of applauſes; how fickle and injudicious the applauders; how narrow the bounds within which our praiſe is confined: the earth itſelf but as a point in the univerſe: and how ſmall a corner of it the part inhabited: and, even there, how few are they, and of how little worth, who are to praiſe us! for the future, then, remember to retire into this little part of yourſelf: above all things, keep yourſelf from diſtraction, and intenſe deſires. Retain your freedom, conſider every thing as a man of courage, as a man, as a citizen, as a mortal. Have theſe two thoughts ever the readieſt in all emergencies: one, that ‹ the things themſelves reach not to the ſoul, but

'ſtand without, ſtill and motionleſs. All your 'perturbation comes from inward opinions about 'them.' The other, that 'all theſe things preſent-'ly change, and ſhall be no more.' Frequently recollect what changes thou haſt obſerved. The world is a continual change; life is opinion.

4. The intellectual part is the ſame to all rationals, and therefore that reaſon alſo, whence we are called rational, is common to all. If ſo, then that commanding power, which ſhews what ſhould be done or not done, is common. If ſo, we have all a common law. If ſo, we are all fellow-citizens: and if ſo, we have a common city. The univerſe, then, muſt be that city; for of what other common city are all men citizens? hence, therefore, even from this common city, we derive our intellectual power, our reaſon, our law; as my earthly part, is derived to me from ſome common earth, my moiſture from ſome common element of that kind, my aerial part from its proper fountain, and the warm or fiery part from its proper fountain too. For, nothing can ariſe from nothing, or return into it. Our intellectual part hath alſo come from ſome common fountain of its own nature.

5. Death is, like our birth, a myſtery of nature; the one a commixture of elements, the other a reſolution into them: in neither is there any thing

ſhameful, or unſuitable to the intellectual nature, or contrary to the intention of its ſtructure.

6. From ſuch men ſuch actions muſt naturally and neceſſarily proceed. He who would have it otherwiſe, may as reaſonably expect figs ſhould be without juice. This, too, you ſhould always remember, that in a very ſhort time both you and he muſt die; and, a little after, not even the name of either ſhall remain.

7. Take away opinion, and you have removed the complaint, 'I am hurt.' Remove 'I am hurt,' and you remove the harm.

8. What makes not a man worſe than he was, makes not his life worſe; nor hurts him either without or within.

9. 'Tis for ſome advantage in the whole, that nature acts in this manner.

10. If you attend well, you will find that whatever happens, happens juſtly. I don't mean only in an exact order and deſtined connexion, but alſo according to juſtice, and from one who diſtributes according to merit. Go on in obſerving this, as you have begun: and whatever you do, do it ſo as you may ſtill remain good, according to the intellectual and true notion of goodneſs. Obſerve this in all your actions.

11. Do not entertain ſuch opinions as the man

who affronts you has, or wiſhes you to entertain: but look into theſe things as they truly are.

12. You ſhould always have theſe two rules in readineſs; one, to act only that which the reaſon of the royal and legiſlative faculty ſuggeſts for the intereſts of mankind; the other, to be ready to change your conduct, when any one preſent can rectify you, and make you quit any of your opinions. But let this change be always made upon ſome probable ſpecies of juſtice, or publick utility, or ſuch like; and not any view of pleaſure, or glory to yourſelf.

13. Have you reaſon? I have. Why don't you uſe it? when it performs its proper office, what more do you require?

14. You have ariſen as a part in the univerſe, you ſhall diſappear again, returning into your ſource; or, rather, by a change ſhall be reſumed again, into that productive intelligence from whence you came.

15. Many pieces of frankincenſe are laid on the altar: one falls, then another. And there's no difference, whether ſooner or later.

16. Within ten days you'll appear a god to them, who now repute you a wild beaſt or an ape, if you turn to obſerve the moral maxims, and to reverence your intellectual part.

17. Do not form deſigns, as if you were to live a thouſand years. Death hangs over you. While you live, while you may, become good.

18. What agreeable leiſure does he procure to himſelf, who takes no notice what others ſay, do, or intend; but attends to this only, that his own actions be juſt and holy; and, according to Agathon, that there be nothing black or ill-natured in his temper? he ought not to be looking around, but running on the ſtraight line, without turning aſide.

19. The man who is ſolicitous about a ſurviving fame, conſiders not that each one of thoſe who remember him, muſt ſoon die himſelf, and ſo muſt his ſucceſſor a little after him, till at laſt this remembrance be extinguiſhed, which is handed down through a ſeries of ſtupid periſhing admirers. Grant your memory were immortal, and theſe immortal, who retain it; yet what is that to thee? not to ſay, what is that to the dead? but what is it to the living, except [1] for ſome further view? in the mean time, you unſeaſonably quit what Nature hath put in your power, by graſping at ſomething elſe dependent on another.

20. Whatever is beautiful or honourable, is ſo

1 The Stoics denied | as it gave opportunities of fame to be deſirable, except | more extenſive good offices.

from itſelf, and its excellence reſts in itſelf: its being praiſed is no part of its excellence. It is neither made better nor worſe by being praiſed. This holds too in lower beauties, called ſo by the vulgar; in material forms, and works of art. What is truly beautiful and honourable, needs not any thing further than its own nature to make it ſo. Thus, the law, truth, benevolence, a ſenſe of honour. Are any of theſe made good by being praiſed? or, would they become bad, if they were cenſured? is an emerauld made worſe than it was, if it is not praiſed? or, is gold, ivory, purple, a dagger, a flower, a ſhrub, made worſe on this account?

21. If the animal ſouls remain after death, how hath the aether contained them from eternity? how doth the earth contain ſo many bodies buried, during ſo long a time? as in this caſe the bodies, after remaining a while in the earth, are diſſipated and changed, to make room for other bodies, ſo the animal ſouls removed to the air, after they have remained ſome time, are changed, diffuſed, rekindled, and reſumed into the original productive ſpirit, and give place to others in like manner to cohabit with them. This may be anſwered, upon ſuppoſition that the ſouls ſurvive their bodies. We may conſider, beſide the human

bodies which are buried, the bodies of ſo many beaſts, which we and other animals feed on. What a multitude of them is thus conſumed, and buried in the bodies of thoſe who feed on them, and yet the ſame places ſtill afford room, by the changes into blood, air and fire. The true account of all theſe things is by [1] diſtinguiſhing between the material, and the active or efficient principle.

22. Do not ſuffer the mind to wander. Keep juſtice in view in every deſign. And in all imaginations which may ariſe, preſerve the judging faculty ſafe.

23. Whatever is agreeable to thee, ſhall be agreeable to me, O graceful univerſe! nothing ſhall be to me too early, or too late, which is ſeaſonable to thee; whatever thy ſeaſons bear, ſhall be joyful fruits to me, O Nature! from thee are all things; in thee they ſubſiſt; to thee they return. Could one ſay, ‹ thou dearly beloved city ‹ of Cecrops!'and wilt thou not ſay, ‹ thou dearly ‹ beloved city of God!'

24. ‹ Mind few things,' ſaid one, ‹ if youwould ‹ preſerve tranquillity.' He might rather have ſaid, mind only what is neceſſary, and what the

1 The author's ſentiment here is not well known by the critics. Some make the active principle to be meerly the form.

reaſon of the creature formed for ſocial life and publick good recommends, and in the way it directs. And this will not only ſecure the tranquillity ariſing from virtuous action, but that alſo which ariſes from having few things to mind. Would we cut off the moſt part of what we ſay and do, as unneceſſary, we ſhould have much leiſure and freedom from trouble. We ſhould ſuggeſt to ourſelves on every occaſion this queſtion; Is this neceſſary? but we ought to quit, not only unneceſſary actions, but even imaginations; and, thus, ſuperfluous actions, diverting us from our purpoſe, would not enſue.

25. Make trial how the life of a good man would ſucceed with you, of one who is pleaſed with the lot appointed him by Providence, and ſatisfied with the juſtice of his own actions, and the benevolence of his diſpoſitions.

26. You have ſeen the other ſtate, try alſo this. Do not perplex yourſelf. Has any man ſinned or offended? the hurt is to himſelf. Hath any thing ſucceeded with you honourably? whatever befalls you was ordained for you, by the providence of the whole, and ſpun out to you by the deſtinies. To ſum up all, life is ſhort. You muſt make the beſt uſe of the preſent time, by a true eſtimation

of things, and by juſtice: and retain ſobriety in all relaxations.

27. Either there is an orderly well-diſpoſed univerſe, or a mixture of parts caſt together; without deſign, which, yet, make an orderly compoſition. Or, can there ſubſiſt in thee a regular ſtructure, and yet no regular conſtitution be in the univerſe? and that when we ſee ſuch very different natures blended together, with conſpiring harmony?

28. Conſider the deformity of theſe characters, the black or malicious, the effeminate, the ſavage, the beaſtly, the childiſh, the fooliſh, the crafty, the buffooniſh, the faithleſs, the tyrannical.

29. He is a foreigner, and not a citizen of the world, who knows not what is in it; and he too, who knows not what ordinarily happens in it. He is a deſerter, who flies from the governing reaſon in this polity. He is blind, whoſe intellectual eye is cloſed. He is the beggar, who always needs ſomething from others, and has not from himſelf all that is neceſſary for life. He is an abſceſs of the world, who withdraws or ſeparates himſelf from the reaſon which preſides in the whole, by repining at what befalls: that ſame Nature produces this event which produced thee. He is the ſeditious ci-

tizen, who [1] ſeparates his private ſoul from that one common ſoul of which all rational natures are parts.

30. One acts the philoſopher without a coat, and another without any books; and a third half-naked. Says one, I have not bread, and yet I adhere to reaſon. Says another, I have not even the ſpiritual food of inſtruction, and yet I adhere to it.

31. Delight yourſelf in the little art you have learned, and acquieſce in it. And ſpend the remainder of your life, as one who with all his heart commits all his concerns to the gods; and neither acts the tyrant or the ſlave, toward any of mankind.

32. Recollect, for example, the times of Veſpaſian; you will ſee all the ſame things you ſee now. Men marrying, bringing up children, ſickening, dying, fighting, feaſting, trading, farming, flatter-

1 All vice is ſuch a ſeparation, as the Stoics define virtue to be 'an agreement 'or harmony with nature' in our affections and actions. They tell us this nature is two-fold, the Common Nature preſiding in the univerſe, or the Deity, and the individual or proper nature in each one. We conform to the common nature, by acquieſcence in all events of Providence, and by acting the part which the ſtructure of our proper nature requires and recommends, eſpecially the governing part of it, we at once conform to both the common nature and the proper; ſince our conſtitution was framed by God, the common Nature.

ing, obſtinate in their own will, ſuſpicious, undermining their neighbours, wiſhing the death of others, repining at their preſent circumſtances, courting miſtreſſes, hoarding up, purſuing conſulſhips and kingdoms: this life of theirs is paſt, and is no more. Come down to Trajan's days; you'll ſee the ſame things again: that life too is paſt. Conſider other periods of time, and other nations, and ſee how many, after their keen purſuits of ſuch kinds, preſently fell, and were diſſolved into their elements. But chiefly repreſent to your mind thoſe whom you yourſelf knew vainly diſtracted with ſuch purſuits, and quitting that courſe which ſuited the ſtructure of their nature, not adhering to it, nor contented with it. But you muſt alſo remember, that in each action, there is a care ſuited and proportioned to the importance of the affair: and thus you'll not be diſguſted, that you are not allowed to be employed longer than is proper, about matters of leſs value.

33. Words formerly the moſt familiar are now grown obſcure, and in like manner, the names of ſuch as were once much celebrated, are now become obſcure, and need explication; ſuch as, Camillus, Caeſo, Voleſus, Leonnatus; ſoon after them, Scipio, Cato; and then Auguſtus; after him, Hadrian, and Antonine. All things haſten

to an end, ſhall ſpeedily ſeem old fables, and then be buried in oblivion. This I ſay of thoſe who have ſhone in high admiration. The reſt of men, as ſoon as they expire, are unknown and forgotten. And then, what is this eternal memory? 'tis wholly vain and empty. About what then ſhould we employ our diligence and ſolicitude? this alone, that our ſouls be juſt, our actions ſocial, our ſpeech entirely ſincere, and our diſpoſition ſuch as may chearfully embrace whatever happens; as being neceſſary; as well known; and as flowing from ſuch ſprings and cauſes.

34. Reſign yourſelf willingly to your deſtiny, allowing it to involve you in what matters it pleaſes.

35. All things are tranſitory, and, as it were, but for a day; both thoſe who remember; and the things, and perſons remembred.

36. Obſerve continually, that all things exiſt in conſequence of changes. Enure yourſelf to conſider that the Nature of the univerſe delights in nothing more than in changing the things now exiſting, and in producing others like them. The things now exiſting are a ſort of ſeed to thoſe which ſhall ariſe out of them. You may conceive that there are no other ſeeds than thoſe that are caſt into the earth or the womb; but ſuch a miſtake ſhews great ignorance.

37. You muſt die preſently, and yet you have not attained to the [1] true ſimplicity and tranquillity; nor to that freedom from all ſuſpicion of hurt by external things; nor have you that kind affection toward all; nor do you place your true wiſdom ſolely in a conſtant practice of juſtice.

38. [2] Look well into their governing part, and their cares, what things they ſtudy to avoid, and what they purſue.

39. Thy evil cannot have its ſubſiſtence in the ſoul of another; nor in any change or alteration of the body which ſurrounds thee. Where then? in that part of thee, which forms opinions concerning evils. Let this part form no ſuch opinions, and all is well. Tho' this poor body, which is neareſt to thee, be cut, or burned, or ſuppurated, or mortify, let the opinionative power be quiet; that is, let it judge that, what may equally befall a good man or a bad, can be neither good or evil. For what equally befalls one who lives according to

1 This ſimplicity is one conſtant ſtable purpoſe, or acting according to the will of God, that part he has pointed out to be good and ſuited to the dignity of our nature.

2 This is deſigned to abate our deſire of eſteem from weak injudicious men; not, to recommend a prying into the buſineſs or characters of others.

nature, and one who lives againſt it, can neither be [1] according to nature, nor againſt it.

40. Conſider always this univerſe as one living being or animal; with one material ſubſtance, and one ſpirit; and how all things are referred to the ſenſe of this ſpirit; and how it's will accompliſhes all things, and how the whole concurs to the production of every thing; and what a connexion and contexture there is among all things.

41. 'Thou art a poor ſpirit, carrying a dead 'carcaſe about with thee,' ſays Epictetus.

42. There is no evil befalls the things which ſuffer a change; nor any good in ariſing into being from a change.

43. Time is a river, or violent torrent of things coming into being; each one, as ſoon as it has appeared, is ſwept off and diſappears, and is ſucceeded by another, which is ſwept away in its turn.

44. Whatever happens, is as natural, and cuſtomary, and known, as a roſe in the ſpring, or

1 That is, ſuch things are neither agreeable nor contrary to the nature of the rational ſoul, or the divine part: nor are they either its good or its evil. But when one ſpeaks of the whole animal, made up alſo of an animal ſoul and a body, theſe things are agreeable or contrary to this compound, and this the Stoics ſtrongly aſſert againſt the Pyrrhoniſts. ſee, Cicero de finib. l. 3. c. 5. 6. but they would not call them good or evil.

fruit in ſummer. Such are diſeaſes, deaths, calumnies, treacheries, and all which gives fools either joy or ſorrow.

45. Things ſubſequent are naturally connected with thoſe which preceeded. They are not as numbers of things independent of each other, yet neceſſarily ſucceeding; but they are in a regular connexion. And as things now exiſting are joined together in the moſt appoſite contexture; ſo, thoſe which enſue, have not barely a neceſſary ſucceſſion, but a wonderful ſuitableneſs and affinity to what preceeded.

46. Remember always the doctrine of Heraclitus, that 'the [1] death of the earth, is its becoming 'water; that of water its becoming air; that of 'air, its becoming fire. And ſo back again.' Think of [2] him who forgot whither the road led him: and that men are frequently at variance with that reaſon or intelligence, with which they have always to do, and which governs the univerſe: and are ſurpriſed at thoſe things as ſtrange, which they meet with every day. That we ought not to ſpeak

1 See above, B. II. 4.

2 This perſon or proverbial expreſſion, is unknown. 'Tis applicable to ſuch as either live extempore, without any fixed view or end in life: or to ſuch as in purſuit of apparent goods, are involved in great miſeries, by their want of conſideration.

or act like men aſleep; (for even in ſleep we ſeem to ſpeak and act;) nor like children; merely becauſe we have been ſo inſtructed by our parents.

47. If any God would aſſure you, you muſt die either to morrow, or the next day at fartheſt, you would little matter whether it were to morrow or the day after; unleſs you were exceedingly mean-ſpirited: for how trifling is the difference? juſt ſo, you ſhould repute it of ſmall conſequence, whether you are to die in extreme old age, or to morrow.

48. Conſider frequently how many phyſicians, who had often knit their brows on diſcovering the prognoſtics of death in their patients, have at laſt yielded to death themſelves: and how many aſtrologers, after foretelling the deaths of others, with great oſtentation of their art; and how many philoſophers, after they had made many long diſſertations upon death and immortality; how many warriors, after they had ſlaughtered multitudes; how many tyrants, after they had exerciſed their power of life and death with horrid pride, as if they had been immortal; nay, how many whole cities, if I may ſo ſpeak, are dead: Helice, Pompeii, Herculanum, and others innumerable. Then run over thoſe whom, in a ſeries, you have known, one taking care of the funeral of another, and then buried by a third, and all this in a ſhort

time. And, in general, all human affairs are mean, and but for a day. What yeſterday was a trifling embryo, to morrow ſhall be an embalmed carcaſe, or aſhes. Paſs this ſhort moment of time according to nature, and depart contentedly; as the full ripe olive falls of its own accord, applauding the earth whence it ſprung, and thankful to the tree that bore it.

49. Stand firm like a promontory, upon which the waves are always breaking. It not only keeps its place, but ſtills the fury of the waves. Wretched am I, ſays one, that this has befallen me. Nay, ſay you, happy I, who, tho' this has befallen me, can ſtill remain without ſorrow, neither broken by the preſent, nor dreading the future. The like might have befallen any one; but every one could not have remained thus undejected. Why ſhould the event be called a misfortune, rather than this ſtrength of mind a felicity? but, can you call that a misfortune, to a man, which does not fruſtrate the intention of his nature? can that fruſtrate the intention of it, or hinder it to attain its end, which is not contrary to the will or purpoſe of his nature; what is this will or purpoſe? ſure you have learned it. Doth this event hinder you to be juſt, magnanimous, temperate, prudent, cautious of raſh aſſent, free from error, poſſeſſed of a ſenſe of honour and modeſty, and of true liberty; or

from meriting thoſe other characters, which whoever enjoys, hath all his nature requires, as its proper perfection? and then, upon every occaſion of ſorrow, remember the maxim, that this event is not a misfortune, but the bearing it courageouſly is a great felicity.

50. 'Tis a vulgar meditation, and yet a very effectual one, for enabling us to deſpiſe death; to conſider the fate of thoſe who have been moſt earneſtly tenacious of life, and enjoyed it longeſt. What have they obtained more than thoſe who died early? they are all lying dead ſome where or other. Caedicianus, Fabius, Julian, Lepidus, and ſuch like, who carried out the corpſes of multitudes, have been carried out themſelves. In ſum, how ſmall is the difference of time! and that ſpent amidſt how many troubles! among what worthleſs men! and in what a mean carcaſe! do not think it of conſequence. Look backward on the immenſe antecedent eternity, and forward into another immenſity. How ſmall is the difference between a life of three days, and of three ages like Neſtor's?

51. Haſte on in the ſhorteſt way. The ſhorteſt way is that according to nature. Ever ſpeak and act what is moſt ſound and upright. This reſolution will free you from much toil, and warring, and artful management, and diſſimulation, and oſtentation.

BOOK V.

1. WHEN you find yourſelf, in a morning, averſe to riſe, have this thought at hand: I ariſe to the proper buſineſs of a man: and ſhall I be averſe to ſet about that work for which I was born, and for which I was brought into the univerſe? have I this conſtitution and furniture of ſoul granted me by Nature, that I may lie among bed-cloaths and keep myſelf warm? but, ſay you, This ſtate is the pleaſanter. Were you then formed for pleaſure, and not at all for action, and exerciſing your powers? do not you behold the vegetables, the little ſparrows, the ants, the ſpiders, the bees, each of them adorning, on their part, this comely world, as far as their powers can go? and will you decline to act your part as a man for this purpoſe? will not you run to that which ſuits your nature? but, ſay you, muſt we not take reſt? you muſt: but nature appoints a meaſure to it, as it has to eating and drinking. In reſt you are going beyond theſe meaſures; beyond what is ſufficient: but in action, you have not come up to the meaſure; you are far within the bounds of your power: you do not then love yourſelf; otherwiſe, you would have loved your own nature,

and its proper will or purpoſe. Other artificers, who love their reſpective arts, can even emaciate themſelves by their ſeveral labours, without due refreſhments of bathing or food: but you honour your nature and its purpoſe much leſs than the turner does his art of turning, or the dancer does his art, the covetous man his wealth, or the vain man his applauſe. All theſe when ſtruck with their ſeveral objects, do not more deſire to eat or ſleep, than to improve in what they are fond of; and do ſocial affectionate actions appear to you meaner, and deſerving leſs diligence and application?

2. How eaſy is it to thruſt away and blot out every diſturbing imagination, not ſuited to nature; and forthwith to enjoy perfect tranquillity?

3. Judge no ſpeech or action unſuitable to you, which is according to nature; and be not diſſuaded from it, by any enſuing cenſure or reproach of others. But if the ſpeaking or acting thus be honourable, do not undervalue yourſelf ſo much as to think you are unworthy to ſpeak or act thus. Theſe cenſurers have their own governing parts, and their own inclinations, which you are not to regard, or be diverted by. But go on ſtraight in the way pointed out by your own nature, and the common nature of the whole. They both direct you to the ſame road.

4. I walk on in the path which is according to nature, till I fall down to reſt, breathing out my laſt breath into that air I daily drew in, falling into that earth whence my father derived his ſeed, my mother her blood, my nurſe her milk for my nouriſhment; that earth which ſupplied me for ſo many years with meat and drink, and bears me walking on it, and ſo many ways abuſing it.

5. You cannot readily gain admiration for acuteneſs: be it ſo. But there are many other qualities, of which you cannot pretend you are naturally incapable. Approve yourſelf in thoſe which are in your power, ſincerity, gravity, patient diligence, contempt of pleaſure, an heart never repining at Providence, contentment with a little, good-nature, freedom, a temper unſolicitous about ſuperfluities, ſhunning even ſuperfluous talk; and in true grandeur of mind. Do not you obſerve what a number of virtues you might diſplay; for which you have no pretence of natural incapacity? and yet you voluntarily come ſhort of them. Does any natural defect force you to be querulous at Providence? to be tenacious and narrow-hearted? to flatter? to complain of the body, and charge your own faults on it? to fawn on others? to be oſtentatious? to be ſo unſettled in your purpoſes and projects? no, by the Gods! you might have eſcaped thoſe vices

long ago. One charge, perhaps, of a ſlow and tardy underſtanding, you could not well avoid; but in this, diligence and exerciſe might have helped the defect; if you had not neglected it, [1] nor taken a mean pleaſure in it.

6. There are ſome, who, when they have done you a good office, are apt to charge it to your account, as a great obligation. Others are not apt thus to charge it to you, yet ſecretly look upon you as much indebted to them, and know ſufficiently the value of what they have done. A third ſort ſeem not to know what they have done; but are like the vine, which produces its bunches of grapes, and ſeeks no more when it hath yielded its proper fruit. The horſe, when he hath run his courſe, the hound, when he has followed the track, the bee, when it has made its honey, and the man, when he hath done good to others, do not make a noiſy boaſt of it, but go on to repeat the like actions, as the vine in its ſeaſon produces its new cluſters again. We ought to be among thoſe, who, in a manner, ſeem not to underſtand what they have done. Well, but ought we not, ſay you, to underſtand this point? is it not the property of the ſocial being, to underſtand that it acts the ſocial part? nay, by Jove! to deſire too, that its

1 The reading of the text here is uncertain.

partners and fellows ſhould be ſenſible it acts thus? what you ſay is true. Yet if you miſapprehend what I ſaid above, you ſhall remain in one of the former claſſes, who are led aſide from the higheſt perfection, by ſome probable ſpecious reaſons. But if you deſire fully to comprehend what I ſaid, do not be afraid that it will ever retard you in any ſocial action.

7. This is a prayer of the Athenians, 'Rain, 'rain, kind Jupiter! upon the tilled grounds and 'paſtures of the Athenians.' We ſhould either not pray at all, or pray with ſuch ſimplicity, and ſuch kind affections of free citizens toward our fellows.

8. As, when 'tis ſaid, that, Aeſculapius hath preſcribed to one a courſe of riding, or the cold bath, or walking bare-footed; ſo it may be ſaid, that the Nature preſiding in the whole, hath preſcribed to one a diſeaſe, a maim, a loſs of a child, or ſuch like. The word 'preſcribed,' in the former caſe, imports that he enjoined it as conducing to health; and in the latter too, whatever befalls any one, is appointed as conducive to the purpoſes of fate or Providence. Our very word for [1] happening to one, is, to go together appoſitely, as the ſquared ſtones in walls or pyramids, are ſaid by the workmen, to fall or join together, and ſuit

1 συμβαίνειν.

each other in a certain poſition. Now, there is one grand harmonious compoſition of all things; and as the regular univerſe is formed ſuch a complete whole of all the particular bodies, ſo the univerſal deſtiny or fate of the whole, is made a complete cauſe out of all the particular cauſes. The very vulgar underſtand what I ſay. They tell you, ‹ fate ordered this event for ſuch an one, and this ‹ was preſcribed or appointed for him.' Let us underſtand this even as when we ſay, ‹ the phyſician ‹ has ordered ſuch things for the patient:' for, he preſcribes many harſh diſagreeable things; which, yet, we embrace willingly, for the ſake of health. Conceive, then, the accompliſhing and completing the purpoſes of the univerſal Nature, to be in the univerſe, what your health is to you, and thus embrace whatever happens, altho' it ſhould appear harſh and diſagreeable: becauſe it tends to the health of the univerſe, to the proſperity and felicity of Jupiter in his adminiſtration. He never had permitted this event, had it not conduced to good. We ſee not any particular nature aiming at or admitting what does not ſuit the little private ſyſtem, in which it preſides. Should you not on theſe two accounts embrace and delight in whatever befalls you; one is, that it was formed, and preſcribed, and adapted for you, and deſtined originally by

the moſt venerable cauſes; the other, that it is ſubſervient to the proſperity, and complete adminiſtration of that mind, which governs the whole; nay, by Jupiter! to the ſtability and permanence of the whole. For, the whole would be maimed and imperfect, if you broke off any part of this continued connexion, either of parts or cauſes. Now, you break this off, and deſtroy it, as far as you can, when you repine at any thing which happens.

9. Do not fret, deſpond, or murmur, if you have not always opportunities as you deſire, of acting according to the right maxims. If you are beat off from them, return to them again; and content yourſelf that your actions are generally ſuch as become a man; and rejoice in theſe good offices to which you return. Do not return to philoſophy with reluctance, as to a ſevere tutor, but as to your medicine; as one who has tender eyes, flies to the ſponge and the egg; as another flies to plaiſters, a third to fomentation. You ſhould require no more than being conſcious that you have obeyed reaſon, and reſt yourſelf in this. Remember that philoſophy requires no other things than what your nature requires. But you are often wanting ſomething different. What can be eaſier

1 A common medicine for tender eyes.

and ſweeter than theſe things, which are agreeable to nature? ſenſual enjoyments by their pleaſure inſnare us. But conſider, can there be any thing ſweeter than magnanimity, liberty, or ſelf-command, ſimplicity of heart, meekneſs, purity? what is ſweeter than wiſdom, when you are conſcious of ſucceſs and ſecurity from error in what belongs to the intellectual and ſcientific powers?

10. The natures of things are ſo covered up from us, that, to many philoſophers, and theſe no mean ones, all things ſeem uncertain and incomprehenſible. The Stoics themſelves own it to be very difficult to comprehend any thing certainly. All our judgments are fallible. Where is the infallible man, who never changes his opinion? conſider the objects of our knowledge; how tranſitory are they, and how mean! how often are they in the poſſeſſion of the moſt effeminately flagitious, or of a whore, or a robber! review again the manners of your contemporaries, they are ſcarce tolerable to the moſt courteous and meek diſpoſition; not to mention that few can well comport with their own manners, but are often angry with themſelves. Amidſt ſuch darkneſs and filth, and this perpetual flux of ſubſtance, of time, of motions, and of the things moved, I ſee nothing worthy of our eſteem or ſolicitude. On the contrary,

the hopes of our natural diſſolution ſhould be our conſolation, and make us bear with patience the time of our ſojourning among them: refreſhing ourſelves with theſe thoughts; firſt, that nothing can befall us but what is according to the nature of the whole: and then, that it is always in our power, never to counteract the Deity or Genius within us: to this no force can compell us.

11. To what purpoſes am I now uſing my animal powers? this ſhould be matter of frequent ſelf-examination: as alſo, what are the views and purpoſes of that governing part, as we call it? what ſort of ſoul have I? of what character? is it that of a trifling child? of a paſſionate youth? of a timorous woman? of a tyrant? of a tame beaſt, or a ſavage one?

12. Of what value the things are, which many repute as good, you may judge from this; if one previouſly conceives the true goods, prudence, temperance, juſtice, fortitude, he cannot bear any thing attributed to them which does not naturally agree to the true kinds of good. But one thinking of what the vulgar repute as good, can patiently hear, and will with pleaſure entertain as proper to the ſubject, that known raillery of the comic poet. And thus even the vulgar conceive the preeminence of the former; otherwiſe, they would not be of-

ſended with the application of that jeſt to them, and reject it as unworthy of the ſubject. But we all reliſh that jeſt, when 'tis applied to riches, and all the poſſeſſions ſubſervient to luxury, as being ſuitable to the ſubject, and humourouſly expreſſed. Go on, then, and aſk yourſelf, are theſe things to be honoured and reputed as good, which, when we conſider, we can yet deem it proper raillery to apply to the poſſeſſor, the jeſt, 'that he has ſuch 'abundance of finery around him on all ſides, he 'can find no place where he can eaſe himſelf.'

13. I conſiſt of an active, and a material principle. Neither of theſe ſhall return to nothing; as they were not made out of nothing. Shall not, then, every part of me be diſpoſed, upon its diſſolution, into the correſpondent part of the univerſe; and that, again, be changed into ſome other part of the univerſe; and thus to eternity? by ſuch changes I came into being, and my parents too, and their progenitors, from another eternity. We may aſſert this, [1] tho' the world be governed by

1 The Stoics ſeem to have believed a ſeries of great periodical conflagrations, from all eternity, by which the material world and the groſſer elements, were rarified and abſorbed again into the pure aether, which they deemed to be the Deity; and recreated again out of this eternal original ſubſtance: and that

certain grand determined periods of diſſolution and renovation.

14. Reaſon, and the art of the rational agent, are powers which are ſatisfied with themſelves and their own proper action, (without the aid of what is external or foreign to them.) They act from their internal principle, and go ſtraight forward to the end ſet before them. The actions are called right, or ſtraight, from their ſtraight road to their end [2].

15. None of theſe things ſhould be deemed belonging to a man as his perfection, which do not belong to him as he is a man; which cannot be demanded of him as a man; which the ſtructure of his nature does not undertake for; and which do not perfect his nature. The ſupreme end or happineſs of man, cannot, therefore, conſiſt in ſuch things, nor be completed by them. Did any ſuch things belong to man as his perfection, it would never be a ſuitable perfection in him to deſpiſe and oppoſe them; nor would he be commendable for making himſelf independent of them, and not needing them. Were they truly good, it would never

theſe alternate creations and conflagrations, were from eternity: and from the one to the other, was the great philoſophic year.

2 Viz. acting according to our nature, be the external event what it will. See B. IV. 37.

be the part of a good man to quit or abate his ſhare of them. But the more one remits of his ſhare of certain things reputed good, the more patiently he bears being deprived of them by others, the better we muſt eſteem the man to be.

16. Such as the imaginations are which you frequently dwell upon, ſuch will be the diſpoſition of your ſoul. The ſoul receives a tincture from the imagination. Tincture thy ſoul deeply by ſuch thoughts as theſe continually preſent, that whereever one may live, he may live well: one may live in a court, and, therefore, one may live well in it. Again, whatever one's natural ſtructure and powers are fitted for, 'tis for this purpoſe he is deſigned; and by a natural impulſe is carried to it; and his ſupreme end is placed in that to which he is thus carried. In this end conſiſts his advantage, and his good. The good of a rational creature is in ſociety; for, we have long ago demonſtrated, that we were formed for ſociety. Nay, was it not manifeſt, that the inferior kinds were formed for the ſuperior, and the ſuperior for each other? now, the inanimate are inferior to the animated; and the merely animated are inferior to the rational.

17. 'Tis the part of a mad-man to purſue im-

poſſibilities. Now, 'tis [1] impoſſible the vicious ſhould act another part than that we ſee them act.

18. Nothing can befall any man, which he is not capable by nature to bear. The like events have befallen others; and they, either through ignorance that the event hath happened, or through oſtentation of magnanimity, ſtand firm and unhurt by them. Strange! then, that ignorance or oſtentation ſhould have more power than wiſdom!

1 That is, during theſe their preſent opinions, diſpoſitions, habits, and confuſed imaginations: all which they have fallen into according to that plan, which infinite wiſdom originally concerted for the moſt excellent purpoſes; ſeeing it to be neceſſary, that there ſhould be very different orders of being, ſome more, ſome leſs perfect; that many particular evils muſt be connected with the neceſſary means of incomparably ſuperior good; that theſe imperfections and evils are prerequiſite to the exerciſe of the moſt divine virtues, in the more perfect orders of beings; which muſt be the ground of their eternal joy: and that many evils are even requiſite means of reclaiming the leſs perfect beings from their vices, and ſetting them upon the purſuit of their trueſt happineſs. Such thoughts muſt repreſs ill-will and all anger againſt the vicious; but do not hinder our diſcerning the miſery and deformity of vice. And a Stoic allows the vicious could refrain from their vices, if they heartily inclined to do ſo.

19. The things themſelves [1] cannot in the leaſt touch the ſoul; nor have any acceſs to it; nor can they turn or move it. The ſoul alone can turn or move itſelf; and ſuch judgments or opinions, as ſhe condeſcends to entertain, ſuch ſhe will make all occurrences become to herſelf.

20. In one reſpect, men are the moſt dearly attached to us, as we are ever obliged to do good to them: but in another reſpect, as they ſometimes obſtruct us in our proper offices, they are to be reputed among things indifferent, no leſs than the ſun, the wind, or a ſavage beaſt; for, any of theſe may obſtruct us in the diſcharge of our proper external offices; but, none of them can obſtruct our purpoſe, or our diſpoſitions, becauſe of

1 The Stoics, after Plato, ſeem to conceive the rational ſoul, in which, our judgments, opinions, and calm purpoſes of action ſubſiſt, to be a being or ſubſtance diſtinct both from the groſs body, and the animal ſoul, in which are the ſenſations, lower appetites and paſſions. The rational ſoul, ſay they, is the man; the ſeat of true perfection and happineſs; or, of miſery; and of a durable nature, capable of ſubſiſting ſeparated from the other two parts; and of commanding all their motions, during this union with them, or impriſonment in them; capable of performing its proper, natural, lovely, beatific offices, independent of theſe lower parts; nay, of making the adverſe accidents, which befall them, the occaſion, or matter, of its moſt excellent beatific exerciſes.

that [1] reſervation and power of turning our courſe. For the ſoul can convert and change every impediment of its firſt intended action, into a more excellent object of action; and thus 'tis for its advantage to be obſtructed in action; and it advances in its road, by being ſtopped in it.

21. Reverence that which is moſt excellent in the univerſe; which employs all parts of it as it pleaſes, and governs all. In like manner, reverence that which is moſt excellent in yourſelf. Now, this is of a like nature with the former, as it is what employs and directs all other powers in your nature; and your whole life is governed by it.

22. What is not hurtful to the [2] ſtate or city, cannot hurt the citizen. Make uſe of this rule upon every conception of any thing as hurting you. If the city is not hurt by it, I cannot be hurt. If the city ſhould receive hurt by it, yet we ſhould not be angry at him who hurt it, but

1 See B. IV. 1. as alſo the note upon the preceeding ſection in this book.

2 This city is the univerſe. A mind entirely conformed and reſigned to God, the great governour of this city, and perſuaded of his wiſdom, power, and goodneſs, cannot imagine any event to be hurtful to the univerſe; and when it is united in will with God, it muſt acquieſce in all that happens, and can make all events good to itſelf, as they are occaſions of exerting the nobleſt virtues, which are its ſupreme good.

[1] ſhew him what he has neglected, or how he has done wrong.

23. Conſider frequently, how ſwiftly all things which exiſt, or ariſe, are ſwept away, and carried off. Their ſubſtance is as a river in a perpetual courſe. Their actions are in perpetual changes, and the cauſes ſubject to ten thouſand alterations. Scarce any thing is ſtable. And the vaſt eternities, paſt and enſuing, are cloſe upon it on both hands; in which all things are ſwallowed up. Muſt he not, then, be a fool, who is either puffed up with ſucceſs in ſuch things; or is diſtracted, and full of complaints about the contrary; as if it could give diſturbance of any duration?

24. Remember how ſmall a part you are of the univerſal nature; how ſmall a moment of the whole duration is appointed for you; and how [2] ſmall a part you are of the object of univerſal fate, or providence.

25. Does any one injure me? let him look to it. He hath his own diſpoſition, and his own

1 This is an impoſſible ſuppoſition, but the ſentiment juſt, according to the Stoic opinion; ſee the note on art. 17. of this book.

2 And thence you will ſee how juſt and merciful it may be, to ſubject your little tranſitory intereſts, to thoſe of the great univerſe, and to that plan of Providence, which is fitteſt for the whole.

work. I have that diſpoſition, which the common preſident Nature wills me to have, and act that part, which my own nature recommends to me.

26. Keep the governing part of the ſoul [1] unmoved by the grateful or painful commotions of the fleſh; and let it not blend itſelf with the body; but circumſcribe and ſeparate itſelf; and confine theſe paſſions to thoſe bodily parts. When they aſcend into the ſoul, by means of that ſympathy conſtituted by its union with the body, there is no withſtanding of the ſenſation which is natural. But let not the governing part add alſo its opinion concerning them, as if they were good or evil.

27. We ſhould live a divine life with the Gods. He lives with the Gods, who diſplays before them his ſoul, pleaſed with all they appoint for him, and doing whatever is recommended by that divinity within, which Jupiter hath [2] taken from him-

1 See, art. 19. of this book.

2 The Stoics conceived the divine ſubſtance, to be an infinitely diffuſed and all-pervading aether, the ſeat of all wiſdom, power and goodneſs: and that our ſouls were ſmall particles of this aether: and that even thoſe of brutes were particles of the ſame, more immerſed and entangled in the groſſer elements.

Divinae particulam aurae. HOR.
Eſſe apibus partem divinae mentis, et hauſtus
Aetherios, dixere. Deum namque ire per omnes

ſelf, and given each one as the conductor, and leader of his life. And this is the intellectual principle and reaſon in each man.

28. Can you be angry at one, whoſe arm-pits or whoſe breath are diſagreeable? how can the man help it, who has ſuch a mouth or ſuch arm-pits? they muſt have a ſmell. But, ſays one, man has reaſon: he could by attention, diſcern what is injurious in his actions; [theſe may juſtly raiſe anger.] Well, God bleſs you, you have this reaſon too. Rouſe then his rational diſpoſitions, by your rational diſpoſitions; inſtruct, ſuggeſt to him, what is right. If he liſtens to you, you have cured him, and then there is no occaſion for anger. Let us have no tragical exclamations againſt the vices and injuries of others; nor a baſe concurrence with them, like that of harlots.

29. You may live at preſent in the ſame way you would chuſe to be living, when you knew your death was approaching. If you are hindered to do ſo, then you may quit life; and yet without con-

Terraſque tractuſque maris, coelumque profundum:
Hinc pecudes, armenta, viros, genus omne ferarum;
Quemque ſibi tenues naſcentem arceſſere vitas:
Scilicet huc reddi, deinde, et reſoluta referri
Omnia ——

VIRG. GEOR. IV. 220. ſee alſo, Aeneid. VI. 724 to 746.

ceiving the quitting it as evil. If my houſe be ſmoaky, I go out of it; and where is the great matter? while no ſuch thing forces me out, I ſtay as free; and who can hinder me to act as I pleaſe? but my pleaſure is, to act as the rational and ſocial nature requires.

30. The ſoul of the univerſe is kind and ſocial. It has, therefore, made the inferior orders for the ſake of the ſuperior; and has ſuited the ſuperior beings for each other. You ſee how it hath ſubordinated, and co-ordinated, and diſtributed to each according to its merit, and engaged the nobler beings into a mutual agreement and unanimity.

31. [Examine yourſelf thus:] how have you behaved toward the Gods, toward your parents, your brothers, your wife, your children, your teachers, thoſe who educated you, your friends, your intimates, your domeſtics? have you never ſaid or done any thing unbecoming, toward any of them? recollect through how many affairs of life you have paſt, and what offices you have been able to ſuſtain and diſcharge. The hiſtory of your life, and of your [1] public ſervice to the Gods, is

1 Obſerve here the ſame divine ſentiment with the Apoſtle; that whatever we do in word or deed, we ſhould do it as to God.

not completed. What beautiful and honourable things are ſeen in your life? what pleaſures and what pains have you deſpiſed? what occaſions of vain oſtentation have you deſignedly omitted? toward how many perverſe unreaſonable creatures, have you [1] exerciſed diſcretion and lenity?

32. Why ſhould the inſtructed, the intelligent, and ſkilful ſoul be diſturbed by the rude and illiterate? what ſoul is truly ſkilful and intelligent? [2] that which knows the cauſe and the end of all things, and that reaſon which pervades all ſubſtances in all ages, and governs the whole univerſe by [3] certain determined periods.

33. Preſently you ſhall be only aſhes and dry bones, and a name; or, perhaps, not even a name. A name is but a certain noiſe or ſound, or echo. The things moſt honoured in life are but vain, rotten, mean; little dogs ſnapping at each other; children ſquabling and vying with each other; laughing, and preſently weeping again. But integrity, modeſty, juſtice, and truth, [4] 'from the wide 'range of earth have ſoar'd to heaven.' What,

1 Here he is recommending not only forgiveneſs, but the returning good for evil.

2 The knowledge of God and his Providence, is the true wiſdom.

3 See above, B. V. 13.

4 Heſiod. I. 195.

then, ſhould detain thee here? ſince all things ſenſible are in perpetual change, without any ſtability: the ſenſes themſelves but dull, and apt to admit falſe appearances: and the animal life, but an exhalation from blood: to have reuptation among ſuch animals, is a poor empty thing. Why, then, ſhould you not wait patiently for either your extinction, or tranſlation into another ſtate? and, till the proper ſeaſon for it comes, what ſhould ſuffice thee? to reverence and praiſe the Gods, and to do good to men, bearing with their weakneſs, abſtaining from injuries, and conſidering external things ſubſervient to thy poor body and life, as what are not thine, nor in thy power.

34. You may always be proſperous, if you go on in the right way, in right opinions and actions. Theſe two advantages are common to Gods, to men, and every rational ſoul; one, that they can [1] be hindered by nothing external; the other, that they have their [2] proper good or happineſs in their juſt diſpoſitions, and actions, and can make their

1 See above, B. V. 19. and B. IV. 1.

2. Quae vobis, quae digna, viri, pro talibus auſis,
Praemia poſſe rear ſolvi? pulcherrima primum
Di, moreſque dabunt veſtri. AENEID. IX. 253.
Di tibi, &c.
Et mens ſibi conſcia recti,
Praemia digna ferent. AENEID. I. 607.

deſires terminate and ceaſe here, without extending further.

35. If this event be neither any vice of mine, nor any action from any vicious diſpoſition of mine, nor be hurtful to the whole, why am I diſturbed by it. Nay, who can hurt the whole?

36. Do not let your imagination hurry you away incautiouſly in any ſeeming diſtreſs of your friend. Aſſiſt him to the utmoſt of your power, as far as he deſerves in theſe [1] indifferent ſort of things; but, do not imagine that he has ſuſtained any evil. There is no evil in ſuch things. But, as in the [2] comedy, the old foſter-father aſks from the child, with great earneſtneſs, his top, as a token of his love, tho' he knew well it was a childiſh toy; juſt ſo, you muſt act in life about the toys which others value. When you are vehemently declaiming from the Roſtrum, ſhould one ſay to you, 'What, man, have you forgot the nature of 'theſe things you are ſo keen about.' Nay, ſay you, 'tho' I have not forgot it, yet I know theſe

1 The Stoics called all external advantages or diſadvantages, reſpecting the body or fortune, things indifferent, neither good, nor evil; but they allowed this difference among them, that ſome were according to nature, and preferable; others contrary to nature, and to be rejected.

2 This comedy is not known.

‹ are matters of ſerious concern to others,' and, therefore, you do well to act thus. But take care you do not in your own ſentiments become a fool, becauſe others are fools. You may ſo manage, that, in whatever place or time one comes upon you, you may be found a man of an happy lot. He has the happy lot, who diſtributes one to himſelf. The happy lots are good diſpoſitions of ſoul, good deſires and purpoſes, and good actions.

BOOK VI.

1. THE matter of the univerſe is obedient, and eaſily changed: the intelligence, which governs it, has no cauſe in itſelf, of doing evil to any. It has no malice; nor can it do any thing maliciouſly; nor is any one hurt by it. It is the cauſe of all that happens, as it executes all things.

2. Provided you act the part that becomes you, let it be of no account with you, whether you do it ſhivering with cold, or agreeably warm; whether drouſy through long watching, or refreſhed with ſleep; whether in good report, or bad report; whether by dying, or by any other action. For, dying is one piece of the natural buſineſs of every living creature. 'Tis ſufficient, then, if it be well performed.

3. Look narrowly into things. Let not the proper quality, or dignity, of any thing, eſcape your obſervation.

4. All things now exiſting ſhall ſpeedily be changed, either [1] by exhaling and rarifying, if all

1 See above, B. V. 13. others of the antients believed, there were four original immutable elements, out of which all compound bodies were formed, and into which they were reſolved.

be one ſubſtance; or be diſſolved and diſperſed into the ſeveral elements.

5. The governing mind in the univerſe, knows its own diſpoſitions and actions, and the nature of that matter it is acting upon.

6. The beſt ſort of revenge, is, not to become like the injurious.

7. Delight thyſelf in this one thing, and reſt in it; to be going from one kind ſocial action to another, with remembrance of God.

8. The governing part is that which rouſes, and turns, and forms itſelf, ſuch as it chuſes to be; and makes every event appear ſuch to itſelf, as it inclines.

9. All things are accompliſhed by the Nature preſiding in the whole; nor can they be influenced by any other, either ſurrounding it without, or contained as diſtinct within it, or externally annexed to it.

10. Either the univerſe is a confuſed maſs and intertexture, ſoon to be diſperſed; or one orderly whole, under a Providence. If the former; why ſhould I wiſh to ſtay longer in this confuſed mixture? or be ſolicitous about any thing, further than 'how to become earth again?'[1] or, why ſhould I be diſturbed about any thing? the diſperſion will

1 Homer, Iliad. 7. 91.

overtake me, do what I pleaſe. But, if the latter be the caſe; then I adore the Governour of the whole, I ſtand firm, and truſt in him.

11. When you find yourſelf forced, as it were into ſome confuſion or diſturbance, by ſurrounding objects, return into yourſelf as ſpeedily as you can; and depart no more from the true harmony of the ſoul, than what is abſolutely unavoidable. You ſhall acquire greater power of retaining this harmony, by having frequent recourſe to it.

12. Had you, at once, a ſtep-mother, and a mother; tho' you reſpected the former, yet your conſtant reſort and refuge, would be the latter: ſuch to you is the court and philoſophy. Return often to your true mother, philoſophy; and refreſh yourſelf: ſhe will make the affairs of the court tolerable to you, and make you tolerable to thoſe about it.

13. You may revolve ſuch thoughts as theſe, about the niceſt delicacies of ſenſe: about food, this is the dead carcaſe of a fiſh, a fowl, a hog: about wine, this is the juice of a little grape: about your purple robes, this is the wool of a ſheep, ſteeped in the blood of a little ſhell-fiſh: about venereal enjoyments, they are the attrition of a baſe part of our body, and a convulſive ſort of excretion of a mucus. Theſe conceptions, touching ſo

nearly, and explaining the nature of theſe ſubjects, how powerful are they to diſplay to us their deſpicable value? thus we ſhould employ the mind, in all parts of life: when things occur, which, at firſt, ſeem worthy of high eſtimation: we ſhould ſtrip them naked, and view their meanneſs; and caſt aſide theſe pompous deſcriptions of them, by which they ſeem ſo glorious. External pomp and high language, are great ſophiſters; and moſt impoſe upon us, when we are employed in matters commonly reputed of great dignity. Remember 1 what Crates ſaid, about the ſolemn gravity of Xenocrates.

14. The objects of vulgar admiration, may be reduced to ſome general claſſes. Firſt, ſuch as are preſerved by mere coheſion, or, regular, but inanimate ſtructure, or organization; ſuch as ſtones, timber, fig-trees, vines, olive-trees. Men, a rank higher, admire things preſerved by an animal ſoul; ſuch as flocks and herds. The admiration of a third and higher claſs of men, with a more elegant taſte, turns upon what is accompliſhed by a rational ſoul; not as it is akin to the univerſal Spirit; but as artificial, and otherwiſe ingenious, and acute; and merely on this account. Thus,

1 This ſaying is not known.

numbers of [1] ſlaves are valued. But he whoohnours and admires the rational ſoul, as univerſal, and ſocial, or public-ſpirited, in this univerſal city, he will deſpiſe theſe other objects of admiration; and, above all things, he will ſtudy to preſerve his own rational ſoul, in theſe ſocial diſpoſitions and affections; and co-operate with thoſe ſouls which are akin to it, in the ſame purpoſe.

15. Some things haſten into being: ſome haſten to be no more: ſome parts of things in being, are already extinct. Theſe fluxes and changes renew the world; as the conſtant flux of particular periods of time, ever preſent to us new parts of the infinite eternity. In this vaſt river, what is there, among the things ſwept away with it, that one can value; ſince it can never be ſtopped or retained? as if one ſhould grow fond of one of the ſparrows, as it flies by us, when it ſhall be immediately out of ſight. Such is the life of each man; an exhalation from blood, [2] or a breathing in of air: and ſuch as it is to draw in that air, which you are preſently to breath out again every minute,

1 Slaves were chiefly valued, according as they had genius for, and were inſtructed in the more elegant arts, painting, ſtatuary, ſculpture, muſic, acting, and even medicine.

2 See, B. II. 2. and the note upon it.

ſuch alſo is this whole power of breathing, which you received, as it were, yeſterday, or the day before, when you were born; and muſt preſently reſtore again to the ſource whence you derived it.

16. There is little valuable, either in perſpiring, like vegetables; or breathing, as cattle, and wild beaſts do; or in having ſenſible impreſſions made upon the imagination; or in being moved like puppets, by our ſeveral paſſions and appetites; or in mere herding together; or in being nouriſhed. There is nothing in this ſuperior to the diſcharging again what is ſuperfluous of the food we have taken in. What, then, is valuable? to be received with claps of applauſe? not at all. Nor is the applauſe of tongues more valuable. The praiſes of the vulgar are nothing but the noiſe of tongues. If you have, then, quit the purſuit of this trifling ſort of glory, what remains as valuable? this one thing, I imagine, [1] to move, or ſtop yourſelf, in all deſires or purſuits, according to the proper fabric or ſtructure of your nature: for, this is what all deſign and art is tending to; this is all its aim, that the thing formed by art, ſhould be adapted to the work it is deſigned for. This, the planter, and the vine-dreſſer, the horſe-rider, and the breeder of the hound, are in queſt of. At what does all education

1 See, IX. 12.

and inſtruction aim? in this, therefore, is placed all that is valuable. If you ſucceed well in this, you need not be ſolicitous to acquire any thing further. Will not you, then, ceaſe to value other things? if you do not, you will never attain to freedom, ſelf-contentment, independency, or tranquillity: for, you muſt be enviouſly and ſuſpiciouſly vying with thoſe who can deprive you of ſuch things as you highly value; laying ſnares for thoſe who poſſeſs them; and pining with vexation, when you want them; and even accuſing the Gods. But, the [1] reverencing and honouring your own intellectual part, will make you agreeable to yourſelf, harmonious with your fellows, and in a perfect concord with the Gods; praiſing whatſoever they diſtribute or appoint to men.

17. The elements are toſſed upwards, downwards, and all around. The motions of virtue are like none of theſe; but are of a more divine ſort; going on in a way not eaſily diſcerned, and [2] ever proſperous.

18. What ſtrange conduct is this! ſome men cannot ſpeak a good word of their contemporaries, with whom they live; [and, one would thence

1 B. II. 6. and the note upon it.

2 B. IV. 37. and B. V. 14. and 19. and the notes.

imagine, they could not value being praiſed by them;] and yet are very ſolicitous, about gaining the praiſes of poſterity, whom they never ſaw, nor ſhall ſee. This ſeems as fooliſh, as to be concerned that we cannot obtain the praiſes of the ages which preceeded our exiſtence.

19. If any thing ſeems exceedingly difficult for you to accompliſh, do not conclude it to be impoſſible to all men: but rather, if you ſee any thing poſſible to man, and a part of his proper work, conclude that you alſo may attain to it.

20. If, in the exerciſes, one has torn us with his nails, or bruiſed us accidentally with his head, we expreſs no reſentment; we are not offended; nor do we ſuſpect him for the future, as a perſon ſecretly deſigning our deſtruction: and yet we are on our guard againſt him; not as an enemy, or a perſon ſuſpected; but with a good-natured caution, for our own ſafety. Let us thus behave in all parts of life, and conceive many things thus done, as in the exerciſes. Let us, as I ſaid, be upon our guard; but without ſuſpicion or enmity.

21. If any one can convince me, or ſhew me, that my ſentiments, or conduct, has been wrong; I will joyfully alter them. 'Tis truth I am ſearching for, which never hurts any man. But men are often hurt, by remaining in error and ignorance.

22. I endeavour, to do my duty, and what becomes me. Other things do not give me ſolicitude: they are either inanimate, or irrational; or wandering from the right way, and ignorant of it.

23. I endeavour, as one poſſeſſed of reaſon, to uſe the brute animals, and all other irrational objects, with magnanimity and freedom; and to act the kind and ſocial part, toward my fellow-men; who enjoy reaſon as I do. In all things, implore the aſſiſtance of the Gods; and repute it of no conſequence, for what ſpace of time you ſhall continue thus employed. Three hours of ſuch a life is ſufficient. [as well as the three ages of Neſtor.]

24. Alexander of Macedon, and his muleteer, when they died, were in a like condition. They were either [1] reſumed into the original productive cauſes of all things, or [2] diſperſed into the atoms.

1 The Stoics ſpoke doubtfully about a future ſtate, whether the rational ſouls ſubſiſted as ſeparate intelligences, or were abſorbed in the Divinity. Many believed a ſeparate exiſtence of good ſouls for a thouſand years, and of the eminently virtuous, for eternity, in the dignity of gods, which we would call that of angels, with delegated powers of governing certain parts of the univerſe.

2 This latter branch, is the Epicurean doctrine, which the Stoics oppoſed. But they and the Platoniſts too, imitating Socrates's manner, generally propoſe this alternative, to ſhew that, at the

25. Conſider, how many different things are done, in each one of our bodies; and in our ſouls too, in the very ſame moment; and you will the leſs wonder, that far more, nay, that all things which now happen, at once exiſt in this one univerſal ſyſtem, we call the world.

26. Should one deſire you to ſpell the name Antoninus, would you not diſtinctly pronounce to him each one of the letters? ſhould he turn into any angry diſpute about it, would you alſo turn angry, and not rather mildly count over the ſeveral letters to him? thus, in our preſent buſineſs, our duty conſiſts of a great many numbers, or elements: [according to the many different relations and obligations of each perſon:] ought we not to obſerve all theſe calmly; and, without anger at thoſe who are angry with us, go ſtraight on in executing what is our preſent buſineſs?

27. Is it not cruel, to reſtrain men from deſiring, or purſuing, what appears to them as their proper good or advantage? and yet you ſeem

very worſt, there is no evil in death; that all external things are but mean, ſince they are of ſhort duration, and are no preſervatives againſt death. And they endeavoured to make virtue eligible, from the very feelings of the heart, abſtracting from theſe their incertain tenets about futurity.

chargeable in a certain manner with this conduct, when you are angry at the miſtakes, and wrong actions of men: for, all are carried toward what appears to them their proper good. But, ſay you, it is not their proper good. Well: inſtruct them, then, and teach them better, and do not be angry with them.

28. Death is the ceſſation of the ſenſual impreſſions, of the impulſes of the appetites and paſſions, of the toilſome reaſonings, and of the ſervitude to the fleſh.

29. 'Tis very diſhonourable in life, that the ſoul ſhould fail and deſert its duty; while the body can hold out, and ſuſtain its part.

30. Take care you do not degenerate into the manners of the Ceſars, or be tinctured by them. Preſerve your ſimplicity of manners, goodneſs, integrity, gravity, freedom from oſtentation, love of juſtice, piety, good-nature, kind affection, ſtedfaſt firmneſs in your duty. Endeavour earneſtly to continue ſuch as philoſophy requires you to be. Reverence the Gods, ſupport the intereſts of mankind. Life is ſhort. The ſole enjoyment of this terreſtrial life, is in the purity and holineſs of our diſpoſitions, and in kind actions. Act as it becomes the ſcholar of Antoninus Pius. Imitate his conſtant reſolute tenor of rational actions; his equa-

bility on all occaſions; his ſanctity; his ſerenity of countenance; his ſweetneſs of temper; his contempt of vain glory; and his cloſe attention in examining every thing. Remember how he never quitted any ſubject, till he had thoroughly examined it, and underſtood it; and how he bore thoſe who accuſed him unjuſtly, without making any angry returns; how he was ever calm without hurry; how he diſcouraged all accuſations; how accurately he inquired into the manners and actions of men; how cautious he was of reproaching any; how free from fear, ſuſpicion, or ſophiſtry; how he was contented with a little, as to his habitation, furniture, dreſs, table, attendants; how patient he was of labour; how hard to be provoked; he could perſiſt in buſineſs till the evening, without eaſing himſelf, through his great abſtemiouſneſs; how ſtedfaſt and evenly he was in his conduct to his friends; and patient of their oppoſition to his ſentiments; and how joyfully he received any better informations from them; how religious he was, without ſuperſtitious dread: that thus the hour of death may come upon you, well aware of it, and prepared to meet it; as it came on him.

31. Awake, and call yourſelf up; and, as you ſee, when you are fully rouſed, that theſe were

but dreams which diſturbed you; ſo, when you are awake in the buſineſs of life, conſider the things which may diſturb you, as of a like nature with thoſe which diſturbed you in ſleep.

32. I conſiſt of a mean body, and a ſoul. To the body all things are indifferent; for, it cannot diſtinguiſh them; and, to the intellectual part, all things are indifferent, which are not its own operations; and all its own operations are in its power; and of theſe, it is only affected by what are preſent. Its paſt and future operations are to it now indifferent.

33. Labour is not contrary to the nature of the hand, or the foot; while the hand is doing the proper work of an hand, and the foot what is proper to the foot. No more is labour contrary to the nature of man, as he is man; while he is doing what ſuits the nature of a man; and if it be not contrary to his nature, it cannot be evil to him.

34. What great ſenſual enjoyments may be obtained by robbers, by the moſt infamouſly diſſolute, by parricides, by tyrants? [can the happineſs of man conſiſt in them?]

35. Do not you ſee, how common artificers, tho' they may comply to a certain length with the unſkilful, yet ſtill adhere to the rules of their art,

and cannot endure to depart from them? is it not grievous, that the architect, or the phyſician, ſhould ſhew a greater reverence to the rules of their peculiar arts, than the man [as he is rational] ſhews to the rules of human life; rules which are common to him with the Gods?

36. Aſia, Europe, are but little corners of the univerſe: the whole ocean is but a drop of it: Athos but a little clod. All the time of this preſent age is but a point of eternity. All things are but little, changeable, and preſently to vaniſh. All things proceed from the univerſal governing Mind, either by direct and primary intention, or by neceſſary conſequence and connexion with things primarily intended. Thus, the horrid jaws of the lion, poiſons, and whatever is pernicious, as thorns, as mire, are the conſequences of thoſe venerable and lovely things you admire. Do not, therefore, imagine them foreign to that conſtitution of nature which you reverence; but conſider well the fountain of all things.

37. He who ſees things preſent, has ſeen all things which either have been from eternity, or ſhall be to eternity; for, all are of the like nature, and ſimilar.

38. Conſider frequently the connexion of all things in the univerſe, and the relation they bear

to each other. All things are, as it were, entangled with each other, and are, therefore, mutually friendly. This is a natural conſequence, or, in a natural ſeries, with the other; either by connexion of place, or mutual conſpiring to the ſame end, or by continuity of ſubſtance.

39. Adapt thyſelf to thoſe things which are deſtined for you by Providence, and love thoſe men, with whom it is your lot to live, and that with a ſincere affection.

40. An inſtrument, a tool, an utenſil, is then right, when it is fit for its work; even tho' the artificer who formed it be gone. But, in the artful works of nature, the artificial power which formed them, remains and reſides within them. You ought, therefore, to reverence them the more; and to judge, that, if you are diſpoſed, and conduct yourſelf according to the intention of this artificial power which formed you, all things are as you ſhould wiſh. Thus, all things are to the whole, according to its inclination.

41. Whenever you imagine, any of theſe things which are not in your power, are good or evil to you; if you fall into ſuch imagined evils, or are diſappointed of ſuch goods, [1] you muſt neceſſarily accuſe the Gods, and hate thoſe men, who, you

1 IX. 1.

deem, were the cauſes, or ſuſpect will be cauſes of ſuch misfortunes. Our ſolicitude about ſuch things, leads to a great deal of injuſtice. But, if we judge only the things in our power, to be good or evil, there remains no further cauſe of accuſing the Gods, or of any hoſtile diſpoſition againſt men.

42. We are all co-operating to one great work, [the intention of the univerſal mind in the world;] ſome, with knowledge and underſtanding, others, ignorantly, and undeſignedly. Thus, I fancy, Heraclitus ſays, that 'men aſleep are alſo then labour-'ing,' accompliſhing, on their part, the events of the univerſe. One contributes to this one way, and another, another way. Nay, what is beyond expectation, even the querulous and the murmurers, who attempt to oppoſe the courſe of nature, and to obſtruct what happens, contribute alſo to this purpoſe: for, [1] the world muſt needs have within it ſuch perſons alſo. Think, then, in what claſs you would wiſh to rank yourſelf. The preſiding mind will certainly make a right uſe of you, one way or other; and will inliſt you among his labourers and fellow-workers. Do not chuſe to be ſuch a part, as, Chryſippus ſays, a ſilly ridiculous ſentiment expreſſed by a fool in a comedy makes,

1 IX. 42.

which, ‹ of its ſelf is very ſilly and vicious, but ‹ yet is an agreeable part in the play.'

43. Does the ſun affect to perform the work of the rain, or Aeſculapius that of Ceres? the ſeveral ſtars, too, have they not different courſes, but all jointly contributing to the ſame end?

44. If the Gods have taken counſel about me, and the things to befall me, the reſult of their counſel is certainly good. A God without counſel and Providence is inconceivable; and, what could move them to do me any miſchief? what advantage could thence accrue, either to themſelves, or to the univerſe, about which they are chiefly concerned? if they have not taken counſel about me in particular, they certainly have about the common intereſt of the univerſe. I ought, therefore, to love, and chearfully embrace, that which happens in conſequence of what is well ordered for the univerſe. If, indeed, they take no counſel about any thing; which it would be impious to believe; for, then, we might quit ſacrificing, prayers, and ſwearing by them, and all acts of devotion; which we now perform, from a perſuaſion of their preſence, and concern in the affairs of human life: but, grant they took no thought about our affairs; yet, certainly, I may deliberate about myſelf. My deliberation muſt be about my true

intereſt. Now, that is the true intereſt of every one, which is agreeable to the ſtructure of his nature. My natural conſtitution is that of a rational being, fitted for civil ſociety. My city and country, as I am Antoninus, is Rome; but, as I am a man, 'tis the univerſe. That alone, therefore, which is profitable to thoſe cities, can be good to me.

45. Whatever happens to any one, is profitable to the whole. This is enough. But, if you attend, you will ſee this alſo holds univerſally; that, what happens to any one man, is profitable alſo to others. Let the word profitable be [1] taken, here, in a more popular ſenſe, to relate to things indifferent.

46. As it happens in the theatre and ſuch places of the ſhows, that the ſame and like things, always preſented, at laſt cloy us; the ſame happens in the whole of life: for, all things, earlier or later, are juſt the ſame, and from the ſame cauſes. How long, then, can we deſire to ſtay gazing on them.

47. Conſider frequently, that all men, of all ſorts, of all kinds of ſtudies or purſuits, of all nations, have died. Return back to Philiſtio, Phoebus, and Origanio. Go to other tribes, we muſt all remove to that place, whither ſo many great ora-

1 See, B. II. 1.

tors, ſo many venerable philoſophers, Heraclitus, Pythagoras, Socrates, and ſo many heros, have gone before; and ſo many generals and princes have followed. Add to theſe, Eudoxus, Hipparchus, Archimedes, and other acute, ſublime, laborious, artful, and arrogant genii; yea, ſuch as have wittily derided this fading mortal life, which is but for a day; ſuch as Menippus, and his brethren. Conſider that all theſe are long ſince in their graves. And, what is there calamitous in this to them; or even to ſuch obſcure men, whoſe names do not remain? the one thing valuable in this life, is, to ſpend it in a ſteddy courſe of truth, juſtice, and [1] humanity, toward even the falſe and unjuſt.

48. When you would chear your heart, conſider the ſeveral excellencies and abilities of your acquaintances; ſuch as, the activity of one, the high ſenſe of honour and modeſty in another, the liberality of a third, and other virtues, in others. Nothing rejoyces the heart ſo much as the appearances or reſemblances of the virtues, in the manners of thoſe we converſe with, frequently occurring to our view. Let us, therefore, have them ready to reflect upon.

1 Here again the divine ſentiment of returning good for evil.

49. Are you grieved that you are only of ſuch or ſuch a ſmall weight, and not three hundred weight? no more reaſon have you to be grieved that you live to ſuch an age, and not to a greater. Be content, as with the quantity of matter, ſo, with the ſpace of time appointed for you.

50. Let us ſtudy to convince others of what is juſt; but, let us ourſelves act what is juſt, whether they will or not. Should one oppoſe you with ſuperior force, then rouſe your reſignation to Providence, and your tranquillity; and improve this obſtruction for the exerciſe of ſome other virtue; and remember, your former purpoſe was taken up with this [1] reſervation, that you were never to aim at impoſſibilities. What, then, did you chiefly propoſe? to make a good attempt. In this you ſucceed; altho' you do not obtain what you firſt aimed at.

51. The vain-glorious man places his good in the action of another; but the ſenſual, in his own ſuffering or paſſive feeling: the wiſe man places it in his own action.

52. You have it in your power, to have no ſuch opinion, and thus to keep your ſoul undiſturbed. The external things themſelves have no power of cauſing opinions in us.

1 See above, B. IV. 1.

53. Enure yourſelf to attend exactly to what is ſaid by others, and to enter into the ſoul of the ſpeaker.

54. What is not the intereſt of the hive, is not the intereſt of the bee.

55. If the ſailors revile the pilot, and the patients the phyſician, whom will they attend to, and obey? and, how will the one procure ſafety to the ſailors, or the other to the patients?

56. How many of thoſe who entered the world along with me, are gone off before me?

57. To men in the jaundice, honey ſeems bitter; and water is formidable to thoſe who are bitten with a mad-dog. To boys the ball ſeems beautiful and honourable. Why am I angry? has error in the mind leſs power than a little bile in the man who is in the jaundice, or a little poiſon in the man who was bit?

58. No man can hinder you to live according to the plan of your nature. And nothing can befall you, contrary to the plan of the univerſe.

59. Examine well, what ſort of men they are; whom they ſtudy to pleaſe; and with what views; and by what actions they expect to pleaſe them. How ſpeedily eternity will ſweep them away into obſcurity! and how many it hath already ſwept away!

BOOK VII.

1. WHAT is vice? 'tis what you have often ſeen. Have this thought ready on all emergences that they are ſuch things as you have often ſeen: you will find all things, earlier or later, juſt the ſame. Such matters as fill all hiſtories of the ancient, or middle, or preſent ages: of ſuch things, all cities and families are full. Nothing is new. Every thing is ordinary, and of ſhort duration.

2. How can the grand maxims of life ever become dead in the ſoul, unleſs the opinions ſuitable to them be extinguiſhed? and it is ſtill in your power to revive and kindle again theſe true opinions. I can always have the ſentiments I ought to have about ſuch things; why, then, am I diſturbed? what is external to my ſoul, is of no conſequence to it. Be thus perſuaded, and you ſtand upright and firm. You may revive when you pleaſe. Conſider things again, as you have done formerly. This is reviving again.

3. The vain ſolicitude about ſhows, ſcenical repreſentations, flocks and herds, ſkirmiſhing, little bones caſt in for contention among little dogs, baits caſt into a fiſh-pond, the toiling of ants, and their carrying of burdens, the fluttering of affright-

ed flies, the involuntary agitations of puppets by wires! we ought to perſiſt amidſt ſuch things with good-nature, without ſtorming at them; and be perſuaded that ſuch is the worth of each perſon, as is the value of the things he purſues.

4. In converſation, we ſhould give good heed to what is ſaid; and in buſineſs, to what is done: in the former, that we may underſtand what is ſignified; and, in the latter, to what end it is referred.

5. Is my underſtanding ſufficient for this ſubject or not? if it is ſufficient, I uſe it as an inſtrument given me by the univerſal Nature for this work: if it is not, I either give place in this work to thoſe who can better execute it; unleſs it be ſome way incumbent as duty upon me; and, in that caſe, I execute it as well as I can, taking the aid of thoſe, who, by directing my mind, can accompliſh ſomething ſeaſonable and uſeful to the publick. For whatever I do, whether by myſelf, or with the aſſiſtance of others, ought to be directed to that, alone, which is uſeful and ſuitable to the public.

6. How many of thoſe, who were once much celebrated, are now delivered up to oblivion? and how many of thoſe who ſung the praiſes of others, are now entirely gone!

7. Do not be aſhamed to take aſſiſtance. Your

deſign ſhould be to diſcharge your duty, as it is a ſoldier's to ſtorm a breach in a wall. What if, becauſe of your lameneſs, you cannot mount the works alone? you may do it with the aſſiſtance of others.

8. Be not diſturbed about futurity: you ſhall come to encounter with future events, poſſeſſed of the ſame reaſon you now employ in your preſent affairs.

9. All things are linked with each other, and bound together with a ſacred bond: ſcarce is there one thing quite foreign to another. They are all arranged together in their proper places, and jointly adorn the ſame world. There is one orderly graceful diſpoſition of the whole. There is one God in the whole. There is one ſubſtance, one law, and one reaſon common to all intelligent beings, and one truth; as there muſt be one ſort of perfection to all beings, who are of the ſame nature, and partake of the ſame rational power.

10. Every thing material ſhall ſoon vaniſh, and be ſwallowed up in the matter of the whole. Every active principle ſhall ſoon be reſumed into the intelligence and cauſe of the whole. And the memory of every thing ſhall ſoon be buried in eternity.

11. In the rational being, the ſame conduct is agreeable to nature, and agreeable to reaſon.

12. Either ſhew yourſelf as one always upright, or as one well corrected and amended.

13. As the ſeveral members are in an organized body, ſuch are all rational beings, tho' diſtant in place; ſince both are fitted for one joint operation. This thought will more deeply affect your heart, if you often ſpeak to yourſelf thus, I am a member of that great rational body or ſyſtem. If you merely call yourſelf a [1] part of mankind, you do not yet love mankind from your heart, nor does the doing of good yet ultimately delight you, without further views. You only do good, as matter of duty and obligation, and not as doing, at the ſame time, the greateſt good to yourſelf.

14. Let external things affect, as they pleaſe, the [2] things which can be affected by them; let thoſe complain of them which ſuffer by them. But if I can prevent any apprehenſion that the event is evil, I am not hurt. And it is in my power to prevent it.

15. Let any one do or ſay what he pleaſes, I

1 Thus a ſtone may be called a part of a rude heap. A member refers to a regular whole, an organized body, in which the ſafety and proſperity of each member depends on that of the whole, and the happineſs of the whole requires that of each member.

2 See, B. V. 19. and the note upon it.

muſt be a good man. Juſt as if the gold, the emerauld, or the purple were always ſaying, let men do or ſay what they pleaſe, I muſt continue an emerauld, and retain my luſtre.

16. Is not the governing part the ſole cauſe of its own diſturbance? does it not raiſe in itſelf its fears, its ſorrows, its deſires? if any other thing can raiſe its fears or ſorrows, let it do ſo. 'Tis in its own power not to be moved by opinions about ſuch incidents. Let the deſpicable body take thought, if it can, for itſelf; leſt it ſuffer any thing, and complain when it ſuffers. The [1] ſoul which is terrified or dejected, or which is ſtruck with imaginations or opinions about ſuch things, would ſuffer nothing, if you would not give it up to ſuch imaginations. The governing part is free from all indigence or dependence, if it do not make itſelf indigent. In like manner, it may be free from all diſturbance and obſtruction, if it do not diſturb and obſtruct itſelf.

17. To have good-fortune is to have a good divinity governing our lot; or a good divinity, within, governing us. Begone, then, imagination! go, by the Gods! as you came: for I have no more uſe for you. You came, according to the old cuſtom: I am not angry with you; only, be gone.

1 See, B. V. 19.

18. Does one dread a change? what can ariſe without changes? what is more acceptable or more uſual to the nature of the whole? can you warm your bagnio, unleſs wood undergoes a change? can you be nouriſhed, unleſs your food is changed? or, can any thing uſeful be accompliſhed, without changes? do not you ſee, then, that your undergoing a change, too, may be equally neceſſary to the nature of the whole?

19. Through the ſubſtance of the univerſe, as through a torrent, flow all particular bodies; all, of the ſame nature; and fellow-workers with the whole; as the ſame members of our body co-operate with each other. How many a Chryſippus, and Socrates, and Epictetus, hath the courſe of ages ſwallowed up? let this thought occur to you, about every perſon, and event.

20. About this alone I am ſolicitous; that I may not do any thing unſuitable to the conſtitution of a man; or in another manner than it requires; or in a time not ſuitable.

21. The time approaches when you ſhall forget all things, and be forgotten by all.

22. 'Tis the part of a man to [1] love even thoſe who offend him; and this one may do, if he would

1 Here the divine precept of loving our enemies, or ſuch as injure us.

conſider that thoſe who offend are our kindred by nature; that they offend through ignorance, [1] and unwillingly; and that, in a little, both we and they muſt die: and eſpecially, that they have done thee no damage; for, they cannot make thy ſoul worſe than it was before.

23. The preſiding Nature forms out of the univerſal ſubſtance, as out of wax, ſometimes a colt; and then, changing that again, out of its matter forms a tree; and afterwards, a man; and then, ſomething different; and each of theſe forms ſubſiſted a little while. There can be nothing diſmal in a cheſt's being taken aſunder, as there was nothing diſmal in it's being at firſt joined together.

24. A wrathful countenance is exceedingly againſt nature. When the countenance is often thus deformed, its beauty dies, and cannot be revived again. By this very thing you may [2] apprehend that it is againſt reaſon.

If the ſenſe of moral evil is gone, what reaſon could one have for deſiring to live?

25. All things you behold, ſhall the Nature preſiding in the univerſe change; and out of their

1 Luke, XXIII. 34.

2 See the like ſentiment in Cicero de offic. L. 1. c. 29. 'Licet ora ipſa cernere 'iratorum, aut eorum qui 'libidine aliqua, aut metu 'commoti ſunt; aut volup- 'tate nimia geſtiunt, &c.

ſubſtance make other things; and others, again, out of theirs; that the univerſe may be always new.

26. When one has offended, or done any thing wrong; conſider what opinion of his, about ſome good, or evil, hath led him into this miſconduct. When you diſcover this, you will pity him; and neither be ſurprized, nor angry. Perhaps, you yourſelf may imagine the ſame thing, or ſome ſuch like thing, to be good. If you do not at all look upon ſuch things as good or evil, you can eaſily be indulgent and gentle to thoſe who are in a miſtake.

27. Do not let your thoughts dwell upon what you want, ſo much, as, upon what you have. And conſider the things you enjoy, which are deareſt to you; how earneſtly and anxiouſly you would deſire them, if you wanted them: and yet be on your guard; leſt, by your delighting in the enjoyment of ſuch things, you enure yourſelf to value them too much; ſo that if you ſhould loſe them, you would be much diſturbed.

28. Wind thyſelf up within thyſelf. The rational governing part has this natural power, that it [1] can fully ſatisfy itſelf, in acting juſtly; and, by doing ſo, enjoying tranquillity.

1 See, B. V. 19.

29. Blot out all imaginations. Stop the brutal impulſes of the paſſions. Circumſcribe the preſent time; and apprehend well the nature of every thing which happens, either to yourſelf, or to others. Diſtinguiſh between the material and the active principle. Conſider well the laſt hour. The fault another commits, there let it reſt where the guilt reſides.

30. Apply your mind attentively to what is ſaid in converſation; and enter deeply into what is done, and into thoſe who do it.

31. Rejoice yourſelf with ſimplicity, modeſty, and the thoughts of the indifference of all things between virtue and vice; love mankind; and be obedient to the Gods. Says one.——'All things 'by certain laws.' [1] But what if all be elements and no more? 'tis ſufficient that even in that caſe, all happens by an inevitable law; except [2] a very few things.

32. Concerning death. 'Tis either a diſperſion, or atoms, a vaniſhing, an extinction, or a tranſlation to another ſtate.

33. Concerning pain. What is intolerable muſt ſoon carry us off. What is laſting is tolerable.

1 The intention here is very doubtful.

2 He means probably theſe which the Stoics ſay, are in our own power.

The underſtanding can preſerve a calm, by its opinions; and the governing part becomes no worſe. The [1] parts which ſuffer by pain, let them determine about it if they can.

34. Concerning glory. Conſider the underſtandings of thoſe who confer praiſes, what they ſhun, and what they purſue. And, as heaps of ſand are driven upon one another, the latter bury and hide the former: juſt ſo, in life, the former ages are preſently buried by the enſuing.

35. This from [2] Plato. To the man who has a true grandeur of ſoul, and a view of the whole of time, and of all ſubſtance; can human life appear a great matter? 'tis impoſſible, ſays he. Can then ſuch a one conceive death to be terrible? 'tis impoſſible.

36. 'Tis a ſaying of Antiſthenes, 'tis truly royal to do good and be reproached.

37. 'Tis unworthy, that our countenance ſhould be obedient to our ſoul, and change and compoſe itſelf as the ſoul directs, while yet the ſoul cannot conform and adorn itſelf, according to its own inclination.

38. ‹ Vain is all anger at the external things;
‹ For they regard it nothing.——

39. ‹ Give joy to us, and to th' immortal Gods.'

1 B. V. 19. and B. II. 2. | 2 Republic. B. 6.

40. ‹ For life is, like the loaden'd ear, cut down;
‹ And ſome muſt fall, and ſome unreap'd remain.'

41. ‹ Me and my children, if the Gods neglect,
‹ It is for ſome good reaſon.'

42. ‹ For I keep right and juſtice on my ſide.'

43. Do not ſorrow along with them, nor be inwardly moved.

44. 'Tis thus in Plato. ‹ I would give him this ‹ juſt anſwer. You are much miſtaken, man, to ‹ think that a man of any worth makes much account between living and dying. Ought he not ‹ to conſider this alone, whether he acts juſtly or ‹ unjuſtly, the part of a good or of a bad man?'

45. He ſays again. ‹ In truth, O Athenians! where- ‹ ſoever one has placed himſelf by choice, judging it ‹ the fitteſt for him; or [1] wherefoever he is placed ‹ by his commander; there, I think, he ought to

1 Of the ſame kind, is the following divine ſentiment of Epictetus; Arrian, II. 16. ‹ For the future, O ‹ God! uſe me as thou pleaſeſt, thy will is my will. ‹ I am equally ready for ‹ whatever thou ordereſt. I ‹ plead not againſt any thing ‹ which thou thinkeſt proper. Lead me whither ſoever thou willeſt. Cloath ‹ me in what dreſs thou willeſt. Is it thy will I ſhould ‹ be a magiſtrate, or a private man; remain in my ‹ own country, or in exile; ‹ be poor, or rich? in all ‹ theſe will I vindicate thee ‹ before men.

‹ ſtay at all hazards; making no account of death;
‹ or any other evil, but vice.'

46. Again. ‹ But, pray, conſider, whether
‹ what is truly noble and good, be not placed in
‹ ſomething elſe than preſerving life; or, in being
‹ preſerved. Nor is it ſo very deſirable to one of
‹ a truly manly diſpoſition to continue in life a
‹ long time; nor ought he to love it much. But,
‹ he ſhould rather commit this to the will of God;
‹ aſſenting to the maxim of even our old women,
‹ that "no man can avoid his deſtiny," and ſtudy
‹ how he ſhall paſs, as virtuouſly as he can, the
‹ time deſtined for him.'

47. Conſider the courſe of the ſtars; as thinking that you revolve along with them; conſider alſo, continually, the changes of the elements into each other. Such extenſive thoughts purge off the filth of this terreſtial life.

48. This is beautiful in Plato. ‹ When we
‹ conſider human life, we ſhould view, as from an
‹ high tower, all things terreſtrial; ſuch as herds,
‹ armies, men employed in agriculture, in marria-
‹ ges, divorces; births, deaths, the tumults of
‹ courts of Juſtice, deſolate lands, various barba-
‹ rous nations, feaſts, wailings, markets; a med-
‹ ley of all things, in a ſyſtem adorned by contrari-
‹ eties.'

49. Conſider things paſt; the revolutions of ſo many empires; and thence you may foreſee what ſhall happen hereafter; for they ſhall be juſt of the ſame nature; nor can they break off the harmony or concert now begun. Hence, 'tis much the ſame to view human life for forty or for a myriad of years; for, what further can you ſee?

50. ‹ To earth returns whatever ſprung from
‹ earth.'
‹ But what's of heav'nly ſeed remounts to heaven.'
Euripides intends by this, either the diſentangling again of the entangled atoms, or ſome ſuch diſperſion of immutable elements.

51. ‹ By meats and drinks and charms and magic-arts,
‹ Death's courſe they would divert, and thus eſcape,
‹ The gale that blows from God we muſt indure
‹ Toiling, but not repining——.'

52. He is a better wreſtler than thou art; be it ſo. He is not more ſocial and kind, nor more modeſt; nor better prepared to meet the accidents of life; nor more gentle toward the offences of his neighbours.

53. Wherever one can act according to that reaſon which is common to Gods and men, there, there's nothing terrible. Where we can have the advantage or enjoyment of acting proſperouſly,

according to the ſtructure of our nature, there we ſhould ſuſpect no hurt.

54. In all places and times, you may devoutly acquieſce and be ſatisfied with what befalls you, and have juſt diſpoſitions toward your neighbours, and [1] ſkillfully examine all ariſing imaginations; that none may inſinuate themſelves, till you thoroughly comprehend them.

55. Do not be prying into the ſouls of thoſe around you, but look well into this, whither it is that nature leads you: the nature of the whole, by external events; and your own nature, by ſuggeſting what part you ſhould act. Each one ſhould act the part he is fitted for by his nature. Other beings are fitted to be ſubſervient to the rational; as all inferior beings are ſubordinated to the ſuperior; and the rational are formed for each other. What the ſtructure of human nature is chiefly adapted to, is a ſocial communication of good;

1 This examination of the images of fancy, ſo often mentioned by Antoninus, is one of the moſt excellent means for preſerving purity of mind. Vice firſt enters the ſoul, under the diſguiſe of ſome apparent good, nay, under ſome colours of virtue; but, when the will is not ſuffered to give its conſent to any of the propoſitions of fancy, until they are ſtript of all diſguiſe; and conſidered according to their own real value; the moral turpitude of bad actions muſt determine us to reject them, and thus preſerve innocence and integrity.

and, next to this, is the command over all bodily appetites and paſſions. 'Tis the proper work of the rational and intelligent power, to [1] circumſcribe itſelf, and to be unconquerable by the appetites and paſſions. For, both theſe are inferior faculties, common to the brutes. The intellectual part claims to itſelf this power over them, and not to be ſubjected to them; and that, very juſtly; as, by its own nature, fitted to command and employ all theſe lower powers. The third office pointed out by the conſtitution of the rational nature, is to guard againſt raſh aſſent, and error. Let the governing part retain theſe things, and go ſtraight on in her courſe; and ſhe has all her own good or perfection.

56. Conſider your life as now finiſhed and paſt. What little ſurplus there is beyond expectation, ſpend it according to nature [2].

1 B. V. 19.

2 It may be remembred here once for all, the life according to nature, in Antoninus, is taken in a very high ſenſe: 'tis living up to that ſtandard of purity and perfection, which every good man feels in his own breaſt: 'tis conforming our ſelves to the law of God written in the heart: 'tis endeavouring a compleat victory over the paſſions, and a total conformity to the image of God. A man muſt read Antoninus with little attention, who confounds this with the natural man's life, condemned by St. Paul.

57. Love and deſire that alone which happens to you, and is deſtined by Providence for you; for, what can be more ſuitable [1]?

58. Upon every accident, keep in view thoſe to whom the like hath happened. They ſtormed at the event; thought it ſtrange; and complained. But where are they now? they are gone for ever. Why would you act the like part? leave thoſe unnatural changes and commotions to thoſe fickle men, who thus change, and are changed. Be you intent upon this; how to make good uſe of ſuch events. You may make an excellent uſe of them; they may be matter of [2] virtuous action. Only attend well to yourſelf, and reſolve to be a good man in all your actions. And ſtill remember, that the

1 The practice of this great maxim, would produce the moſt perfect tranquillity of mind: for, a man who deſires only what God deſtines him, can never be diſappointed; ſince infinite power, wiſdom, and goodneſs, muſt always accompliſh its deſigns; and, as he loves all his works, every event ordered by him, muſt be really beſt for the whole, and for the individuals to which it happens: an intimate and permanent conviction of this, muſt be the beſt foundation for the practice of the maxim here recommended. See the citation from Epictet. in the note at 46.

2 Viz. of filial love, and ſubmiſſion to God, of manly fortitude and patience; of meekneſs and goodneſs toward theſe very men, who are the cauſes of ſuch exter-

external things, about which your actions are employed, are indifferent.

59. Look inwards; [1] within is the fountain of good; which is ever ſpringing up, if you be always digging in it.

60. We ſhould ſtudy alſo a ſtability of body; free from looſe inconſtant motion. For, as the ſoul diſplays itſelf by the countenance, in a wiſe and graceful air; ſo, it ſhould in the whole body. But theſe things are to be obſerved without affectation.

61. The art of life reſembles more that of the wreſtler, than of the dancer; ſince the wreſtler muſt ever be ready on his guard, and ſtand firm againſt the ſudden unforſeen efforts of his adverſary.

62. Revolve often what ſort of men they are, whoſe approbation you deſire; what ſort of ſouls they have. Thus, you will neither accuſe ſuch

nal misfortunes. Thoſe who ſtormed and fretted at ſuch accidents have not, by all their efforts, eſcaped them.

1 The author of this advice, had the beſt opportunities of trying all the happineſs which can ariſe from external things. The diſſipating purſuits of external things, ſtupify the nobler powers. By recollection we find the dignity of our nature: the diviner powers are diſentangled, and exert themſelves in all worthy ſocial affections of piety and humanity; and the ſoul has an inexpreſſible delight in them.

ſa unwillingly miſtake, nor will you require their approbation, if you look into the ſprings of their ſentiments and affections.

63. 'Tis againſt its will, ſays Plato, that any ſoul is deprived of truth. You may ſay the ſame of juſtice, temperance, good-nature, and every virtue. 'Tis highly neceſſary to remember this continually: you will thence be made gentler toward all.

64. Upon any pain, recollect, that there is no moral turpitude in it; nor does it make the ſoul the worſe, or deſtroy it; either as it is rational, or ſocial. As to the far greater part of thoſe pains we are ſubject to, the maxim of Epicurus may aſſiſt you, 'that it cannot both be intolerable and 'laſting:' eſpecially, if you remember the narrow bounds within which it is confined; and do not add opinions to it. Recollect this, too, that many other things fret us, which we do not repute of the ſame nature with pain, tho' they truly are: thus, drowſineſs, when one would be lively; being too warm; and the want of a natural appetite. When you are fretted with any of theſe things, rouſe your mind, by ſaying thus to yourſelf: What? do you yield yourſelf as vanquiſhed by pain?

65. Entertain no ſuch affection toward the moſt

inhuman of your fellows, as they have toward their fellows.

66. Whence do we conclude that Socrates had a bright genius, and an excellent diſpoſition? 'tis not enough that he died gloriouſly; or argued acutely with the ſophiſts; or that he kept watch patiently in the Areopagus; or that when he was ordered [1] to apprehend the innocent Salaminian, he gallantly diſobeyed at all hazards the unjuſt command; or becauſe of any ſtately airs or gate he aſſumed in public, which, too, one may juſtly diſbelieve: [tho' charged on him by Ariſtophanes:] 'tis this we ſhould look to, what ſort of ſoul he had: could he ſatisfy himſelf, without further view, in being [2] juſt toward men, pious toward God, not vainly provoked by the vices of others, nor ſervilely flattering them in their ignorance; counting nothing ſtrange which was appointed by the Preſident of the univerſe; nor ſinking under it as intolerable; nor yielding up his ſoul to be affected by the paſſions of the body?

67. Nature hath not ſo [3] blended the ſoul with

1 He had received theſe orders from the thirty tyrants; who intended to put Leo the Salaminian to death, and ſeize his eſtate. Socrates at all hazards diſobeyed them, in the height of their power. This Plato mentions in the Apology, and in one of his letters.

2 See the note at X. 11.

3 See, B. V. 19.

the body, as that it cannot circumſcribe itſelf, and execute its own office by itſelf. One may be a moſt divine man, and yet be unknown to all. Remember this always: and this alſo, that the happineſs of life conſiſts in very few things. And tho' you deſpair of becoming a good logician, or naturaliſt, you need not therefore deſpair of becoming free, poſſeſſed of an high ſenſe of honour and modeſty, kind and ſocial, and reſigned to God.

68. You may live ſuperior to all force, in the higheſt delight, were all men loudly to rail againſt you as they pleaſe; tho' wild beaſts were to tear the poor members of this corporeal mixture, which has been nouriſhed along with you. What hinders the ſoul to preſerve itſelf amidſt theſe things, in all tranquillity, in juſt judgments about the things which ſurround it, and in a proper uſe of what is caſt in its way? ſo that the judgment may ſay, ‹ ſuch is thy real nature, tho' thou appeareſt otherwiſe.' The [1] faculty which directs how to uſe every thing, may ſay, ‹ it was ſuch an event as ‹ thou art, that I wanted. For whatever occurs, ‹ is to me [2] matter of rational and ſocial virtue, ‹ and of the proper art of man or God. Whatever

1 That is, the intellectual part, or the rational ſoul.
2 See, B. VII. 58.

‹ occurs is familiar, and ſuited either to the pur-
‹ poſe of God or man; and is not new nor untrac-
‹ table, but well known and eaſy.'

69. The perfection of manners can make one ſpend each day as his laſt; and keep himſelf always calm, without ſloth or hypocriſy.

70. The Gods, who are immortal, are not fretted, that, in a long eternity, they muſt always bear with ſuch a numerous wicked world: nay, further, they always take care of it [1]. Yet you who are preſently to ceaſe from being, muſt be fretted and tired with it, tho' you are one of theſe wretched creatures yourſelf!

71. 'Tis ridiculous that you do not endeavour to repreſs, and fly from all vice in yourſelf, which you have in your power to do; but are ſtill ſtriving to reſtrain it in others, and avoid the effects of it; which you can never do.

72. Whatever the rational and ſocial power obſerves, as neither ſubſervient to any improvement of the underſtanding, nor of ſocial diſpoſitions; it juſtly deems inferior to itſelf, and below its regard.

73. When you have done a kind office, and a-

1 The moſt powerful motive to forgiveneſs and to return good for evil. See, Matth. V. 45, 46, 47, 48. ſee, Cambray's dialogue of Socrates, Alcibiades, and Timon.

nother is profited by it, why do you, [1] like the fools, require any thing further, and thus want alſo the reputation of beneficence, and to get returns? [2]

74. No man is tired of what is gainful to him. Your gain conſiſts in acting according to nature. Since the gain is yours, why ſhould you be weary of ſuch a courſe of action?

75. The preſiding Nature of the whole once ſet about the making this univerſe. And now either we muſt allow, that all things, even the worſt we ſee, happen, [3] according to a neceſſary conſequence or connexion, with thoſe excellent things primarily intended; or muſt ſay, there was no rational intention or deſign, in the production of theſe things which are moſt excellent; which yet appear to be the peculiar objects of intention in the univerſal mind. The remembring this will make you much more ſerene on many occurrences.

1 In the high language of the Stoics, the vulgar, and all who are not completely wiſe and virtuous, are called fools and mad-men.

2 See, IX. 42. near the end.

3 See, IX. 28.

BOOK VIII.

1. THIS will repreſs the deſire of vain-glory, that you cannot make the whole of your life, from your youth, appear ſuch as became a philoſopher. 'Tis known to many, as well as to your own conſcience, that you were far from true wiſdom. If this be your aim, you muſt be full of confuſion: it can be no eaſy matter for you to gain the reputation of a philoſopher. Nay, the grand purpoſe of your life is oppoſite to this view of reputation. If you know wherein true excellence conſiſts, away with this affair of reputation, and the opinions of others. Be ſatisfied with this, that what remains of life, be it more or leſs, be ſpent as the conſtitution of your nature requires. Study this point exactly; and be ſolicitous about nothing elſe, but knowing what your nature requires, and acting accordingly. You have experienced many wanderings, without finding happineſs. 'Tis not found in philoſophical arguments, nor in riches, nor in fame, nor in ſenſuality. Not at all. Where, then, is it to be found? In acting the part which human nature requires. How ſhall you act thus? By retaining firmly the great maxims from which our deſires and actions flow.

What maxims? thoſe concerning good and evil: ‘ that nothing is truly good to a man, which does ‘ not make him juſt, temperate, courageous, and ‘ free: and that nothing can be evil to a man, ‘ which gives him not the contrary diſpoſitions.’

2. About every action, thus examine yourſelf; what ſort of one is it? ſhall I never repent of it? I ſhall preſently be dead, and all theſe things gone. What further, then, ſhould I deſire, if my preſent action be ſuch as becomes an intellectual and ſocial being, ſubject to the ſame law with the Gods?[1]

3. Alexander, Caius, Pompey, what were they in compariſon with Diogenes, Heraclitus, and Socrates? theſe latter knew the natures of things, and their cauſes, and materials: and thus their governing parts were employed. As to the former, what a multitude of things were the objects of their care? to how many were they enſlaved?[2]

4. Such men[3] will go on doing ſuch actions, tho' you ſhould burſt with indignation.

5. In the firſt place, be not diſturbed or put

1 As, all intelligent beings are, by their nature, under the ſame immutable eternal law of promoting the good and perfection of the whole. This, in the ſupreme Being, flows eſſentially from his nature: in created beings, it is a gift from him.

2 See, IX. 29.

3 See, the note on B. V. 17.

into confuſion. All things happen according to the nature of the whole. In a little time you ſhall be gone, as Hadrian, and Auguſtus. And, then, attentively conſider the nature of what occurs to you: remember you muſt perſiſt in the purpoſe of being a good man. Act, then, inflexibly what ſuits the nature of a man, and ſpeak always what appears to you juſt, and yet with calm good-nature and modeſty; and without hypocriſy.

6. 'Tis the conſtant buſineſs of the univerſal Nature, to be transferring what is now here, into another place; to be changing things, and carrying them hence, and placing them elſewhere. All are changes; all are cuſtomary; you need not fear any thing new. All are ſubjected to the ſame law.

7. Every being is ſatisfied while it continues proſpering. The rational nature is proſperous, while it aſſents to no falſe or uncertain opinion; and has its affections directed to ſomething ſocial and kind; and its deſires and averſions turned toward theſe things alone which are in its power; while it embraces contentedly whatever is appointed by the univerſal Nature. For, of that it is a part, as a leaf is a part of a tree. In theſe, indeed, the leaf is a part of an inſenſible irrational ſyſtem, which can be obſtructed in the intention of its na-

ture: but the human nature is a part of that universal nature which [1] cannot be obſtructed, and is intelligent and juſt. This nature diſtributes, ſuitably to all, their proper portions of time, of matter, of active principle, of powers, and events. This you will find, if you do not merely compare one circumſtance of one with the correſponding circumſtance in another, but conſider the whole nature and circumſtances of one, and compare them with the whole of another.

8. You want, perhaps, opportunity for reading. But you never want opportunity of repreſſing all inſolence; of keeping yourſelf ſuperior to pleaſure, and pain, and vain-glory; and of reſtraining all anger againſt the inſenſible, and the ungrateful; nay, even of retaining an affectionate concern about them.

9. Let no man hear you accuſing either a court-life, or your own life.

10. Repentance is a ſelf-reproving, becauſe we have neglected ſomething uſeful. Whatever is good, muſt be uſeful in ſome ſort, and worthy of the care of a good and honourable man. But never did ſuch a man repent of his neglecting ſome opportunity of ſenſual pleaſure: ſuch pleaſure, therefore, is neither good nor profitable.

1 See, IV. 1. and the note.

11. [Ask yourſelf thus about every thing,] What is the nature of it, according to its conſtitution and end? what is its ſubſtance or matter? what, as to its active principle? what is its buſineſs in the univerſe? how long ſhall it endure?

12. When you are averſe to be rouſed from ſleep, conſider that it is according to your conſtitution, and that of human nature, to be employed in ſocial actions. To ſleep, is common to us with the brutes. What is peculiarly ſuited to the nature of each ſpecies, that muſt be moſt familiar, moſt adapted, and moſt delightful to it.

13. Upon each occurrence which affects the imagination, continually endeavour to apprehend its nature, and its effect upon our affections; and to reaſon well about it.

14. When you have to do with any one, ſay thus to yourſelf: what are this man's maxims about good and evil, pleaſure and pain, and the cauſes of them; about glory and infamy, death or life? if he have ſuch maxims, there is nothing wondrous or ſtrange, that he acts ſuch a part. And then we ſhall recollect too, that he is under [1] a neceſſity of acting thus.

15. Remember, that, as it would be ſilly to be ſurprized that a fig-tree bears figs, ſo is it equally,

1 See, V. 17. VI. 27. IX. 42.

to be ſurprized that the univerſe produces thoſe things of which it was ever fruitful. 'Tis ſilly in a phyſician, to be ſurprized that one is fallen into a fever; or in a pilot, that the wind has turned againſt him.

16. Remember, it equally becomes a man truly free, to change his courſe, of himſelf, when he thinks fit, and to follow the advice of another who ſuggeſts better meaſures; for this is alſo your own action, accompliſhed according to your own deſire, and judgment, and underſtanding.

17. If this matter is in your own power, why do you act thus? if it is not, whom do you accuſe? it muſt either be the atoms, or the Gods. To accuſe either is a piece of madneſs. There is nothing therefore to be accuſed or blamed. Correct the matter, if you can. If not, to what purpoſe complain? now, nothing ſhould be done to no purpoſe.

18. What dies is not gone out of the verge of the univerſe. If that which is diſſolved ſtays here, and is changed, it returns to thoſe elements, of which the world and you too conſiſt. Theſe too are changed, and do not murmur at it.

19. Every thing is formed for ſome purpoſe: the horſe, the vine. Why do you wonder at this? the ſun too is formed for a certain office, and ſo are

the [1] other Gods. For what end are you formed? for ſenſual enjoyments? ſee if the ſentiments of your ſoul can bear this thought.

20. As he who throws the ball, not only intends its motion and direction, but the place where it ſhould ſtop; ſo, the Nature of the whole intends the ceaſing of each being, no leſs than its commencing and continuance. What better is the ball while aſcending or deſcending, than when fallen or ſtopt? what good is it to the bubble in water that it continues? or evil, that it is broken? the ſame you may ſay of the lamps, when extinguiſhed.

21. Turn out the inner ſide of this body, and view it: what ſhall it become when it grows old, or ſickly, or dead; the applauded and the ap-

1 Tho' one ſupreme original Deity was acknowledged by almoſt all the better ſects of the Heathen philoſophers, yet they conceived great numbers of ſuperior natures, created indeed, but with very great natural excellencies, and inveſted with great powers of government, in certain parts of the univerſe. Many Chriſtians believed the ſame general tenet. The Heathens called thoſe ſuperior beings gods, and Chriſtians called them angels. The Heathens imagined theſe inferior gods or angels, reſiding in the ſun, the ſtars, and planets. This the Chriſtians juſtly denied, and keenly oppoſed; as it had occaſioned much ſuperſtitious and idolatrous worſhip in the Heathen world.

plauder, are of ſhort continuance; the rememberer and the perſon remembered: and all this, too, in a little corner of one climate, where, too, all do not agree in the characters they give; nay, few agree with themſelves. And this whole earth is but a point.

22. Attend well to what is at preſent before you; whether it be a maxim, an action, or a ſpeech. 'Tis juſt you ſhould ſuffer, becauſe you neglect your preſent buſineſs; and would rather become a good man to morrow, than to day.

23. Am I in action; I refer it to ſome benefit thence to accrue to mankind. Does any thing befall me? I accept it, as referring it to the Gods, the fountain of all things; from whom all things are ordered in a fixed ſeries.

24. What things occur in bathing? how do they appear? oil, ſweat, dirt, water, the filth of the ſkin; all nauſeous. Such are all parts of animal life; all the objects before us.

25. Lucilla buried Verus, and ſoon after was buried herſelf. Secunda buried Maximus, and then Secunda herſelf was buried. Epitynchanus buried Diotimus, and then Epitynchanus was buried. [1] Antoninus buried Fauſtina, and then Antoninus

1 Theſe two are Antoninus Pius and his wife Annia Fauſtina.

was buried. Celer buried Hadrian, and then Celer followed. All go the ſame way: thoſe artful men, who fóretold the fates of others, or were ſwoln with pride, where are they now? Charax, Demetrius Platonicus, Eudaemon, and ſuch others? all were but for a day; and are gone long ago. Some ſcarce remembered for any time after their death; ſome gone into a fable; and of ſome, even the old fable itſelf is vaniſhed. Remember theſe things; that either this corporeal mixture muſt be diſperſed: or that the ſpirit of life muſt be either extinguiſhed; or removed, and brought into another place.

26. The joy of man is in doing the proper office of a man; and this conſiſts in good-will toward his own tribe, or ſpecies, in contempt of ſenſual impreſſions; in diſtinguiſhing the profitable appearances; in conſidering the nature of the whole, and the things which happen according to it.

27. All of us ſtand in three relations: the firſt, toward the preſent immediate cauſes; the ſecond toward the divine cauſe which effects all things; the third, toward our neighbours with whom we live.

28. Pain is either an evil to the body; and, then, let the body pronounce it to be evil; or, to the ſoul: but the ſoul [1] can maintain her own

1 See, B. IV. 19.

ſerenity and calm; and not conceive pain to be evil. All judgment, intention, deſire, and averſion, are within the ſoul; to which no evil can aſcend.

29. Blot out the falſe imaginations; and ſay often to yourſelf thus; 'tis now in my power to preſerve my ſoul free from all wickedneſs, all luſt, all confuſion or diſturbance. And yet, as I diſcern the natures of things, I can uſe them all in proportion to their value. Remember this noble power granted you by Nature.

30. In your ſpeeches, whether in the ſenate or elſewhere, aim rather at a decent dignity, than elegance; and let your ſpeech ever be ſound and virtuous.

31. The court of Auguſtus, his wife, daughter, grand-children, ſtep-ſons; his ſiſter, and Agrippa, his kinſmen, intimates and friends, Arius, Maecenas; his phyſicians, ſacrificers; all yielded to death. Go next, not merely to the death of one, but of a whole family or name; as that of the Pompeys; and what we meet ſometimes inſcribed on tombs: 'This was the laſt of his family.' And then think what ſolicitude the anceſtors of ſuch men have had, that they might leave a ſucceſſion of their own poſterity; and yet it was neceſſary, there ſhould be a laſt one of that race. Thus you ſee the death of a whole kindred.

32. Make yourſelf regular, by regulating your ſeveral actions, one by one; ſo that if each action anſwers its end, and have what perfection belongs to it, you may be ſatisfied. Now, in this, nothing can hinder you. But ſay you, may not ſomething external withſtand me? nothing can hinder you to act the juſt, the temperate, the wiſe part. Some external effects of your actions may be obſtructed; but, then, there may ariſe another action of your's equally ſuited to this regularity and orderly compoſition of life, we are ſpeaking of; in your acquieſcence under this impediment, and your calmly converting yourſelf to that conduct which is in your power.

33. Receive the gifts of fortune, without pride; and part with them, without reluctance.

34. If you have ever beheld an hand, a foot, or an head, cut off from the reſt of the body, and lying dead at a diſtance from it: ſuch does one make himſelf, as far as he can, who repines at any event which happens, and tears himſelf off from the whole; or who does any thing unſociable: you are broke off from the natural unity: Nature formed you for a part of the whole; but you have cut off yourſelf. Yet this is glorious, that you can re-unite yourſelf to the whole. The Gods have granted ſuch a power of returning again, and re-

uniting with the whole, to no other parts, when they are once cut off. Conſider the goodneſs and bounty with which God hath honoured mankind. He firſt put it in their power, not to be broken off from this unity; and then put it in their power, even when they are thus broken off, to return, and grow together again naturally, in the condition of parts.

35. The preſident Nature of the whole, as it hath imparted to each rational being almoſt all its faculties and powers; ſo, this one in particular, that, as the Nature of the whole converts into its uſe, and makes ſubſervient to its purpoſe, whatever ſeems to withſtand or oppoſe it, and makes it a regular part of that orderly fated ſeries; thus, each rational being can make every impediment in its way the proper matter for itſelf to act upon; and can uſe it for its grand purpoſe, whatever it be.

36. Do not confound yourſelf, by conſidering the whole of your future life; and by dwelling upon the multitude, and greatneſs of the pains or troubles, to which you may probably be expoſed. But aſk yourſelf about ſuch as are preſent, is there any thing intolerable and unſufferable in them? you will be aſhamed to own it. And, then, recollect, that it is neither what is paſt, nor what is future, which can oppreſs you; 'tis only what is

preſent. And this will be much diminiſhed, if you circumſcribe or conſider it by itſelf; and chide your own mind, if it cannot bear up againſt this one thing thus alone.

37. Is Panthea or Pergamus now ſitting and wailing at the tomb of Verus? or Chabrias and Diotimus at the tomb of Hadrian? ridiculous work this. If they were ſtill ſitting there, would their maſters be ſenſible of it? or if they were ſenſible, would it give them any pleaſure? or, if they were pleaſed with it, could theſe men be immortal, and lament for ever? was it not deſtined they ſhould grow old and die? and when they ſhould die, what would have become of their maſters? what is all this for, but a nauſeous bag of blood and corruption?

38. If you have great penetration, exerciſe it in what is the ſubject of the greateſt wiſdom.

39. In the conſtitution of the rational creature, there is no virtue or excellence, deſtined to withſtand or reſtrain juſtice; but I ſee temperance deſtined to reſtrain ſenſual pleaſures.

40. If you remove your own opinions, about the things which grieve you, you may preſently ſtand on the ſureſt ground. What is that ſelf? 'tis reaſon. I am not reaſon, ſay you. Well: let not your reaſon then diſturb itſelf. But let the part

which ſuffers form opinions concerning this matter. [1]

41. An obſtruction of any ſenſe is the evil of an animal; ſo is the obſtruction of any external motion or deſign: there is another ſort of obſtruction, which is the evil of the vegetative nature. The obſtruction of the underſtanding is, in like manner, the evil of an intelligent nature: apply all theſe things to yourſelf. Do pain or pleaſure affect you? let the ſenſe look to it. Does any thing obſtruct any external deſign of yours? if you have deſigned without the proper [2] reſervation, this is evil to you, as you are rational: but, if you have taken in the general reſervation, you are not hurt nor hindered. No other perſon can hinder that which is the proper work of the intelligent nature. Nor fire nor ſword, nor a tyrant, nor calumny, can reach it. When it is as a [3] ſphere complete within itſelf, without any corners which can be ſtruck off by external force, it remains ſo.

42. It would be unjuſt in me to vex or grieve myſelf, who never willingly grieved any one.

43. One rejoices in one thing, and another in

1 See, B. V. 19.

2 See this explained, B. IV. 1.

3 ———in ſeipſo totus teres atque rotundus,
Externi ne quid valeat per leve morari. Hor. ſat. II. 7.

another. My joy conſiſts in having my governing part ſound; without averſion to any man, or any event incident to mankind; but beholding with a ſerene look, and accepting, and uſing, every thing in proportion to its worth.

44. Allow to yourſelf the little time you have. Thoſe who rather purſue a ſurviving fame, do not conſider that poſterity will juſt be ſuch as our contemporaries, whoſe manners we ſcarce can bear: and they too will be mortal. And what is it to you, what ſounds they ſhall make with their voices, or what opinions they ſhall entertain about you?

45. Take me up, and caſt me where you pleaſe, I ſhall have my own divinity within me propitious: that is, ſatisfied, while its affections and actions are ſuited to its own ſtructure and natural furniture. Is, then, any external event of ſuch worth, that, on its account, my ſoul ſhould ſuffer, and become worſe than it was; becoming abject, and proſtrate, as a mean ſuppliant; and bound as a ſlave along with the body, or terrified? can you find any thing which can deſerve all this?

46. Nothing can befall a man which is not a natural incident of mankind; nor to an ox, nor to a vine, nor to a ſtone, which is not a natural incident to theſe ſpecies. If, then, that alone can

befall any thing, which is uſual, and naturally incident to it, what cauſe is there for indignation? the preſiding Nature of the whole hath brought nothing upon you, which you cannot bear?

47. If you are grieved about any thing external, 'tis not the thing itſelf that afflicts you, but your judgment about it; and it is in your power to correct this judgment and get quit of it. If you are grieved at any thing in your own diſpoſition; who hinders you to correct your maxims of life? if you are grieved, becauſe you have not accompliſhed ſome ſound and virtuous deſign; ſet about it effectually, rather than be grieving that it is undone. 'But ſome ſuperior force withſtands.' Then you have no cauſe of ſorrow; for, the fault of the omiſſion lyes not in you. 'But, life is not 'worth retaining, if this be not accompliſhed.' Quite life, then, with the ſame ſerenity, as if you had accompliſhed it; and with good-will, even toward thoſe who withſtand you.

48. Remember the governing part becomes invincible, when, collected into itſelf, it can be ſatisfied with acting only as it pleaſes, even when it is obſtinately ſet upon things unreaſonable. What ſhall it be then, when, after due deliberation, it has fixed its judgment according to reaſon? the ſoul, thus free from paſſions, is a ſtrong fort; nor

can a man find any ſtronger, to which he can fly, and become invincible for the future. He who has not diſcerned this, is illiterate. He who has, and does not fly to it, is miſerable.

49. Pronounce no more to yourſelf, beyond what the appearances directly declare. 'Tis told you, that one has ſpoken ill of you. This alone is told you, and not that you are hurt by it. I ſee my child is ſick; this only I ſee; and not alſo that he is in danger of dying. Dwell thus upon the firſt appearances, and add nothing to them, from within; and no harm befalls you: or, rather, add what becomes one who underſtands the nature of all which happens in the univerſe.

50. Is the cucumber bitter? throw it away. Are there thorns in the way? walk aſide. That is enough. Do not be adding; 'Why were ſuch 'things in the univerſe?' a naturaliſt would laugh at you, as would a carpenter, too, or a ſhoe-maker, if you were finding fault, becauſe ſhavings and parings of their works are lying about in their work-houſes. Theſe artificers have places too without their-work ſhops, where they can throw theſe ſuperfluities. But the Nature of the whole has no external place for this purpoſe: and herein its art is wonderful, that, having circumſcribed itſelf within certain bounds, all within it which ſeems corrupt-

ing, waxing old, or uſeleſs, it transforms into itſelf, and, out of them, makes other new forms; ſo as neither to need matter from without, nor want a place where to caſt out its ſuperfluities. 'Tis ſatisfied with its own ſubſtance, its own ſpace, and its own art.

51. Neither appear languid and tired out in action; nor troubleſome in converſation; nor inconſtant in your opinions; nor dragged away in your ſoul, nor ſallying out by the impulſe of paſſions; nor too much hurried in life. They ſlay you, cut you to pieces, purſue you with curſes. Does this hinder your ſoul to continue pure, prudent, temperate, juſt? as if one ſtanding by a clear ſweet fountain, ſhould reproach it, yet it ceaſes not to ſend forth its refreſhing waters. Should he throw into it clay or dung; it will ſoon diſperſe them, waſh them away, and become free from all pollution. How, then, ſhall you get this perpetual living fountain within you, and not a dead ciſtern? form yourſelf anew each day into liberty, with tranquillity, ſimplicity, and a ſenſe of what is decent and becoming.

52. He, who knows not there is an orderly univerſe, knows not where he is. He, who knows not for what purpoſe he was formed, knows not himſelf, and knows not the world. He, who is

deficient in either of these parts of knowledge, cannot tell you for what purpose he is fitted by nature. What sort of person, then, must he appear, who pursues the applauses, or dreads the censures of men, who know not where they themselves are, nor what they are?

53. Want you to be praised by a man who curses himself thrice in an hour? can you desire to please one, who is not pleased with himself? is he pleased with himself, who repents of almost every thing he does?

54. Do not content yourself in merely corresponding with the surrounding air, by breathing in it; but correspond in sentiment with that intelligence which surrounds all things. For, this [1] Intelligence diffuses itself to all, and advances toward all those who can draw it in, no less than the air does to such as can receive it into themselves by breathing.

55. There is no universal wickedness to hurt

1 This is a very remarkable passage; not only intimating that our dispositions to piety are the effects of the diffusive and gracious power of God; but that such is the Divine goodness, that he is ever ready to communicate his goodness and mercy, in the renovation of the heart, and in forming in it all holy affections, and just apprehensions of himself, to all minds which by earnest desires are seeking after him.

the univerſe. Particular wickedneſs of any individual hurts not another, it hurts himſelf only; who, yet, has this gracious privilege, that, as ſoon as he heartily deſires it, he may be free from it altogether.

56. To my elective power, the elective power of another is indifferent, as his animal life, or his fleſh is. And how much ſoever we were formed for the ſake of each other, yet the governing part of each one has its own proper power: otherways, the vice of another might become my proper evil or miſery: God thought fit, this ſhould not be; leſt it ſhould be in the power of another to make me unhappy.

57. The ſun ſeems to be poured forth, and is diffuſed all around; but not poured out, or emptied. This diffuſion is a ſort of extenſion of its rays, and hence the [1] Greek word for the rays is thought to be derived. The nature of a ray you may obſerve, if you ſee it entring through ſome ſmall hole into a darkened chamber. Its direction is ſtraight;

1 The Stoics ſtudied to find out ſuch etymologys of words, as might make them memorial hints of ſome uſeful reflection, tho' very different from the true critical etymologys. We had an inſtance, B. V. 8. of one more natural than this. Cicero gives many ridiculous inſtances when he is imitating their manner. The thought in this ſection is very obſcure.

and it is reflected around, when it falls upon any ſolid body, which does not admit it into itſelf. Upon this the light is fixed, no part of it is loſt, or falls aſide. Now, ſuch ought to be the direction and diffuſion of your underſtanding, not an effuſion or emptying of itſelf, but an extenſion of it toward even any obſtacle that occurs: not violently and impetuouſly daſhing againſt it, nor falling aſide, but terminating directly on it, and illuminating whatever will receive it. Such opaque objects as will not receive and tranſmit the rays, deprive themſelves of the ſplendor.

58. He who dreads death, dreads either an extinction of all ſenſe, or dreads a different ſort of ſenſation. If all ſenſe is extinguiſhed, there can be no ſenſe of evil. If a different ſort of ſenſe is acquired, you become another ſort of living creature; and do not ceaſe to live.

59. Men were formed for each other. Teach them better, then, or bear with them.

60. The motion of the arrow is different from that of the mind. The mind, when cautiouſly avoiding, or, when turning to all ſides, in deliberation about what to purſue, is even then carried ſtraight forward toward its proper mark. [viz. acting the good part.]

61. Penetrate into the governing part of others; and lay yours open to them, to enter into it.

BOOK IX.

1. HE who does an injury is guilty of impiety. For, ſince the Nature of the whole has formed the rational animals for one another; each for being uſeful to the other according to his merit, and never hurtful; he who tranſgreſſes this her will, is thus guilty of impiety againſt [1] the moſt ancient and venerable of the Gods. [2] For the nature of the whole is the nature of all things which exiſt; and things which exiſt, are a-kin to their cauſes. Further, ſhe is called truth; and is the firſt cauſe of all truths: he, then, who willingly lies, is guilty of impiety, in as far as, by deceiving, he does an injury: and he, who lies unwillingly; in as far as his voice diſſents from the Nature of the whole; as he is acting ungracefully, in oppoſing the comely order of the univerſe: for he fights againſt its nature and deſign, who ſets himſelf againſt truth; ſince Nature had furniſhed him with

1 This is a clear acknowledgment of the one ſupream God.

2 The original is obſcure here. Probably this Nature of the whole, is always to be underſtood of God, or the mind preſiding in the whole, and governing it for the univerſal good, with perfect benevolence toward all.

means for diſtinguiſhing falſehood from truth, by neglecting which he is now unable to do it. He, too, who purſues pleaſure as good, and ſhuns pain as evil, is guilty of impiety: for ſuch a one muſt needs frequently blame the common Nature, as making ſome unworthy diſtributions to the bad and the good; becauſe the bad oft-times enjoy pleaſures, and poſſeſs the means of them; and the good often meet with pain, and what cauſes pain: beſides, he who dreads pain, muſt ſometimes dread that which muſt be a part of the order and beauty of the univerſe: this, now, is impious: and, then, he who purſues pleaſures will not abſtain from injury; and that is manifeſtly impious. But, in thoſe things to which the common Nature is indifferent, (for ſhe had not made both, were ſhe not indifferent to either;) he who would follow Nature, ought, in this too, to agree with her in his ſentiments, and be indifferently diſpos'd to either. Whoever, then, is not indifferently diſpos'd to pain and pleaſure, life and death, glory and ignominy, all which the Nature of the whole regards as indifferent, it is plain he is guilty of impiety. When I ſay the common Nature regards them as indifferent; I mean ſhe regards their happening or not happening as indifferent events in the grand eſtabliſh'd ſeries, in which things exiſt, and enſue

upon others, ſuitably to a certain ancient purpoſe of that Providence and deſign, according to which, at a certain period, ſhe ſet about this fair ſtructure and arrangement of the univerſe; after ſhe had conceived and fixed the plan of all that was to exiſt; and appointed the diſtinct powers which were to produce the ſeveral ſubſtances, changes, and ſucceſſions.

2. It were the more deſirable lot, to depart from among men, unacquainted with falſehood, hypocriſy, luxury, or vanity. The next choice were, to expire, when cloyed with theſe vices, rather than continue among them: and does not even experience, yet, perſuade you to fly from amidſt the plague? for a corruption of the intellectual part is far more a plague than any peſtilential diſtemper and change of this ſurrounding fluid which we breathe. The one is only a peſtilence to animals, as they are animals; but the other to men, as they are men.

3. Do not deſpiſe death; but receive it well-pleaſed; as it is one of the things which Nature wills. For ſuch as it is to be young, to be old, to grow up, to be full grown; to breed teeth, and beard, and grow grey; to beget, to go with child, to be delivered; and undergo the other natural effects which the ſeaſons of your life produce; ſuch

is it alſo to be diſſolved. It becomes a [1] man of wiſdom neither to be inconſiderate, impetuous, or oſtentatiouſly contemptuous about death; but await the ſeaſon of it, as of one of the operations of Nature. As you are now awaiting the ſeaſon when the foetus ſhall come out of the womb of your wife, thus await the ſeaſon when your ſoul ſhall fall out of theſe its teguments. If you want alſo a popular ſupport, here is one which goes to the heart: you will be extremely eaſy with regard to death, if you conſider the objects you are going to leave; and the manners of that confuſed croud from which you are to be diſengaged: tho' at the ſame time, you ought not to be offended at them; but [2] even to have a tender care of them, and bear with them mildly. Remember, however, your removal is not from among men of the ſame ſentiments with yourſelf: for this alone, were it ſo, could pull you back, and detain you in life; were it given you to live along with men who had attained to the ſame maxims of life with yourſelf. But,

1 The Greek word is a term for one who never acts, till he has examined thoroughly, and reaſoned right, on what he is going to do. See, VI. 30. in the character of Antoninus Pius.

2 Here is the precept of loving our enemies, which is alſo in many others of theſe meditations.

at preſent you ſee how great the fatigue and toil from the jarring courſes of thoſe you are among. So that you may ſay, ‹ [1] Haſte, death! leſt I, too, ‹ ſhould forget myſelf.'

4. He who does wrong, does a wrong to himſelf. He who is injurious, does evil to himſelf, by making himſelf evil.

5. Men are often unjuſt by omiſſions, as well as by actions.

6. Be ſatisfied with your preſent ſentiments of things, if certain; your preſent courſe of action, if ſocial; and, your preſent temper of mind, if well-pleaſed with every thing which comes from the univerſal cauſe.

7. Wipe out the fancies of imagination: ſtop all eager impulſes to action: extinguiſh keen deſires; and keep the governing part maſter of itſelf.

8. Among the irrationals one animal-ſoul is diſtributed: the rational, again, partake of [2] one intellectual ſoul: juſt as there is one earth to all things earthy; and as all of us, who are indued with ſight, and animated, ſee with one light and breathe one air.

9. All things, which partake of any common quality, have a ſtrong tendency to what is of the

1 As a quotation probably from ſome poet.
2 See, II. 1.

ſame kind with themſelves. The earthly all tend to the earth; the watery all naturally flow together; and the aerial alſo; ſo that there is need of ſome intercepting partitions and violence, to prevent their confluence: what contains the nature of fire tends upwards, on account of the elementary fire; along with which all our fewel is ſo apt to be kindled, that any matter pretty dry is eaſily ſet on fire; becauſe there is then a leſs mixture of what hinders its kindling. [1] Thus, now, alſo, whatever partakes of the common intellectual Nature, haſtens, in like manner, or rather more, to mingle with, and adhere to what is a-kin to it. For the more it excels other natures, the ſtronger is its tendency to mix with and adhere to what is a-kin to it. Thus, among irrational animals, we eaſily obſerve ſwarms, and herds, nurture of their young, and, as it were, mutual loves: for they have animal-ſouls; and the mutual attraction is found ſtronger in the more noble Nature; ſuch as was not found in plants, nor in ſtones, or wood. And

1 In this paragraph, he at once acknowledges the original fabric of the ſoul to be deſtined for the knowledge and love of God, and an entire harmony of will with him by reſignation: and alſo its preſent degenerate ſtate, as it is often counteracting its original deſtination.

then among the rational animals, begun civil-ſocieties, friendſhips, families, and aſſemblies; nay, treaties, and truces, even in war. Among beings, again, ſtill more excellent, there ſubſiſts, tho' they are placed far aſunder, a certain kind of union: as among the ſtars. Thus can that ſuperior excellence produce [1] a ſympathy among theſe beings ſo widely diſtant. But obſerve what happens [among us:] for intellectual beings, alone, have now forgot the ſocial concern for each other, and mutual tendency to union! here, alone, the ſocial confluence is not ſeen! yet are they invironed and held by it, tho' they fly off. For Nature always prevails. You will ſee what I ſay, if you obſerve.——for, ſooner, may one find ſome earthy thing which joins to nothing earthy, than a man rent off and ſeparated from all men.

10. Man, God, and the univerſe, all bear fruit; and each in their own ſeaſons. Cuſtom indeed has appropriated the expreſſion to the vine, and the like; but that is nothing. [2] Reaſon has its fruit

1 See, VI. 43. XI. 27. and VII. 13.

2 The law of our nature; entire reſignation to the will of God in all events, and kind affections to our fellows. See Matth. XXII. 37, 39.

too, both [1] ſocial and [2] private. And it produces juſt ſuch other things as reaſon itſelf is.

11. If you can, teach them better. If not, remember that the virtue of meekneſs was given you to be exerciſed on ſuch occaſions [3]. Nay, the Gods alſo exerciſe meekneſs and patience toward them; and even aid them in their purſuits of ſome things; as of health, wealth, glory. So gracious are they! you may be ſo too. Or, ſay, who hinders you?

12. Bear toil and pain, not as if wretched under it; nor as wanting to be pitied, or admired. But will only one thing; always to act, or refrain, as ſocial wiſdom requires.

13. To day I have eſcaped from every dangerous accident: or, rather, I have thrown out from me every dangerous accident. For they were not without; but within, in my own opinions.

14. All theſe things are, in our experience of them, cuſtomary; in their continuance, but for a

1 Kind offices and good-nature to our fellows, and ſubmiſſion to the univerſal Providence.

2 Chearful tranquillity under whatever happens, and temperance. We may ſupply the enumeration of its fruits from the apoſtle. Galat. V. 22. 'Now the fruits of the ſpirit are love, joy, peace, long-ſuffering, gentleneſs, goodneſs, faith, meekneſs, ſelf-command.

3 To enable you to bear mildly the imperfections of others. See, art. 42.

day; and, in their matter, ſordid. All at preſent, ſuch as they were in the times of thoſe we have buried.

15. The things themſelves ſtand without-doors, by themſelves; and neither know, nor declare to us any thing concerning themſelves. What declares, then, and pronounces, concerning them? [1] the governing part.

16. It is not in paſſive-feeling [2], but in action,[3] the good and evil of the rational animal formed for ſociety conſiſts: as neither does the virtue or vice of it conſiſt in paſſive-feeling, but in action.

17. To the ſtone thrown up, it is no evil, to fall down; nor good, to have mounted up.

18. Penetrate into their governing part; and you will ſee what kind of judges you fear: and what kind of judges, too, they are, about themſelves.

19. All things are in a ſtate of change; and you are yourſelf under continual tranſmutation; and, in ſome reſpect, corruption: and ſo is the whole univerſe.

20. The fault of another you muſt leave with himſelf.

21. The ceſſation of any action, the extinction

1 IV, 3. and V, 19. 2 Either of pleaſure or pain.
3 The exertion of our active powers.

of any keen deſire, or of any opinion, is as it were a death to them. This is no evil. Turn now to your different ages; ſuch as childhood, youth, manhood, old-age; for every change of theſe is a death. [1] Is there any thing alarming here? go, now, to your life; firſt as it was under your grand-father, then as it was under your mother; and then as it was under [2] your father: and, as you find there many other alterations, changes, and endings, aſk yourſelf, was there any thing in theſe to alarm me? thus, neither is there, in the ending, ceaſing, and change, of your whole life.

22. Have ſpeedy recourſe to your own governing part, and to that of the whole, and to that of this man [who has offended you.] To your own, that you may make it a mind diſpoſed to juſtice: to that of the whole, that you may remember of what you are a part: and to that of this man, that you may know whether he has acted out of ignorance, or deſign; and that you may, at the ſame time, conſider, he is your kinſman.

23. As you are a completing part of a ſocial ſyſtem, ſo alſo let every action of yours be a completing part of a ſocial life. If, then, any action of

1 That is, the child dies in the youth; the youth in the man; and ſo on. 2 Antoninus Pius.

yours has not its tendency, either immediate or diſtant, to the common-good as its end, this action diſorders your life, and hinders it from being uniform, and it is ſeditious; as a man is in a common-wealth, who, by purſuing a ſeparate intereſt, breaks off his own party from the general harmony and concord.

24. Quarrels of children at their play! and poor ſpirits carrying dead carcaſes about with them! hence we may be the more deeply affected with the repreſentations of the [1] ſhades.

25. Go to the quality of the active [2] principle; abſtract it from the material, and contemplate it by itſelf. Then determine the time; how long, at furtheſt, this thing, of this particular quality, can naturally ſubſiſt.

26. You have indured innumerable ſufferings, by not being ſatisfied with your own governing part, when it does thoſe things which it is formed for doing. Enough, then, [of this diſſatisfaction.]

27. When another reproaches or hates you, or utters any thing to that purpoſe; go to their ſouls: enter in there; and look what kind of men they are. You will ſee that you ought not to diſturb yourſelf, in order to procure any opinion of theirs

1 A ſpectacle ſo called: as Gataker takes it. 2 VII. 29.

concerning you. Yet you ought to have [1] kind diſpoſitions toward them: for they are by nature your friends: and the Gods, too, aid them every way; by dreams, by oracles; and even in thoſe things they are moſt eager after.

28. The courſe of things in the world is always the ſame; a continual rotation; up and down; from age to age. [2] Either the mind of the whole exerts itſelf in every particular event: and, if ſo, accept of what comes immediately from it: or has exerted itſelf once; and in conſequence of this, all things go on ſince in a neceſſary ſeries, [3] in which each is connected with the other, [and all together, make up one regular complete whole,] [4] or atoms and indiviſible particles are the origin of all things; and, if ſo, even thoſe have ſome how made up one orderly ſyſtem of the whole. In fine; if there is any [5] God, all things are right

1 Here again the precept of loving our enemies.

2 Or the words of the original may bear this meaning. 'Either the mind of 'the whole intends and de-'ſigns each particular event; 'and, if ſo, accept of what 'it intends: or has once 'primarily intended ſome 'things; and the reſt are 'unavoidable neceſſary con-'ſequences of thoſe.'

3 See, IV. 45. VI. 36. and VII. 57.

4. Part of the original is wanting, and what remains is corrupted. The turn given it in the tranſlation is founded on IV. 27.

5 Governing mind.

and well: or, if there is only a chance, at leaſt you need not act by chance. [1] The earth will preſently cover us all: and then this earth will itſelf change into ſome other forms; and thoſe, again, into others: and ſo on without end. Now, when any one conſiders how ſwiftly thoſe changes, and tranſmutations roll on, like one wave upon another, he will deſpiſe every thing mortal.

29. The cauſe of the whole is a torrent. It carries all along with it. How very little worth, too, are thoſe poor creatures who pretend to underſtand affairs of ſtate, and imagine they unite in themſelves the ſtateſman and the philoſopher! mere froth! do you, O man! that which Nature requires of you, whatever it be. Set about it, if you have the means: and do not look about you, to ſee if any be taking notice; and do not hope for Plato's common-wealth: [2] but be ſatisfied if it have the ſmalleſt ſucceſs; and conſider the event of this very thing as no ſmall matter. For who can change the opinions of thoſe men? now, without a change of their opinions, what is it elſe but a ſlavery they are groaning under, while they pretend a willing obedience? come, now, and tell me of [3] Alexander, Philip and Demetrius Pha-

1 See this more fully in VI. 44.
2 V. 9. at the beginning. 3 VIII. 3.

ſereus. They know beſt whether they underſtood what the common Nature required of them; and trained themſelves accordingly. But, if they deſigned only an outward ſhew, to gain the applauſe and admiration of men, no body has condemned me to imitate them. The buſineſs of philoſophy is ſimple, meek, and modeſt. Do not lead me away after [the ſmoak and vapour of] a vain glorious ſtatelineſs.

30. [1] Contemplate, as from ſome height, the innumerable herds; and innumerable religious rites, and navigation of all kinds, in ſtorms, and calms; [2] the different ſtates of thoſe who are coming into life, thoſe who are aſſociating in life, thoſe who are leaving life. Conſider alſo the life which others have lived formerly; the life they will live after you, and the life the barbarous nations now live: and how many know not even your name; how many will quickly forget it; how many, who, perhaps, praiſe you now, will quickly blame you: and, that neither a ſurviving fame is a thing of value; nor preſent glory; nor any thing at all [of that kind.]

31. Tranquillity as to what happens by ex-

1 VII. 48. 49.

2 Gataker ſeems to have miſtaken this: ſee, VII. 48. where births, marriages, and deaths, are expreſſed.

ternal cauſes: juſtice in what proceeds from the active principle within you: that is, a bent of will and courſe of action which reſts and is ſatisfied in its having been exerted for the good of ſociety; as being ſuited to your nature.

32. You can cut off a great many ſuperfluous things which crowd and diſturb you; for they lie wholly in your own opinion: and by this you will make a great deal of room and eaſe to yourſelf. [1] As, by comprehending, by your judgment, the whole univerſe; by conſidering the age you live in; and by conſidering the quick changes of each thing, in particular; how ſhort the time from its birth to its diſſolution; how immenſe the ſpace of time before its birth; and the time after its diſſolution, equally infinite.

33. All things you ſee will quickly periſh; and thoſe, who behold them periſhing, will themſelves alſo quickly periſh: and he who died in extreme old-age, will be in the ſame condition with him who died early.

34. What kind of governing parts have theſe men! and about what things are they earneſtly employed! and on what accounts do they love and honour! imagine their minds naked before

1 This is perhaps a new meditation, and ſhould begin thus.——Comprehend &c.

you. When they fancy their cenſures hurt, or their praiſes, profit us; how great their ſelf-conceit!

35. Loſs is nothing elſe but change: and in this delights the Nature of the whole; by which all things are formed well. From the beginning of ages they have been managed in the ſame way: and to all eternity, ſuch like things will be. How can you ſay both that all things were formed, and that all ſhall be always, in a bad ſtate. Among ſo many Gods, it ſeems, there is no ſufficient power found out to rectify thoſe things? but the univerſe is condemned to remain involved in never ceaſing evils.

36. How putrid the material ſubſtance of every thing! water, duſt, little bones, and nauſeous excretions. Again; marble is but the concreted humours of the earth; gold and ſilver its heavy dregs: our cloaths but hairs; and the purple colour of them, [1] blood. All other things are of the ſame kind. The animal ſpirit too is another ſuch thing, paſſing always from one change to another.

37. Enough of this wretched life, of repining, and apiſh trifling. Why are you diſturbed? are any of theſe things new? what aſtoniſhes you? is it the [2] active principle? view it well. Or, is it

1 Of a ſhell-fiſh. 2 See, XI, 1. near the end.

the material? view it alſo well. Beſides theſe there is nothing elſe. Nay, I obteſt you by the Gods, come at length to more ſimplicity of heart, and equity in your ſentiments.

It is the ſame thing whether you have obſerved theſe things for a hundred years, or for three.

38. If he has done wrong, the evil is his: and, perhaps, too, he has not done wrong.

39. Either all events proceed from one intelligent fountain [1] [in the whole] as in one body: and then the part ought not to complain of what happens on account of the whole. Or all is atoms: and nothing elſe but a jumble of parts, and a diſſipation again. Why are you diſturbed then? [your governing part you may ſtill preſerve exempt from chance:] [2] need you ſay to it thou art dead: thou art rotten: thou art diſſembling: thou art joining the herd; feeding; and turned ſavage.

40. Either the Gods have no power at all [to aid men in any thing;] or they have power. If, then, they have no power, why do you pray? but if they have power, why do not you chuſe to pray to them to enable you, neither to fear any of theſe

1 See, IV. 40.

2 The Greek is corrupted and manque here, and the commentators all at a loſs how to reſtore it. As to the ſenſe here attempted, it is the ſame as ſect. 28 of this book.

things, [which are not in our own power] nor deſire any of them, nor be grieved about any of them; rather than for the having them, or the not having them. For, moſt certainly, if they can aid men at all, they can alſo aid them in this. But, perhaps you will ſay; the Gods have put this in my own power. Well, then, is it not better to uſe the things which are in your own power, and preſerve your liberty; than perplex yourſelf about the things which are not in your own power, and become an abject ſlave. And who told you the Gods do not give us their aſſiſtance, too, in the things which are in our own power? begin, therefore, to pray about theſe things; and you will ſee. One prays; how ſhall I enjoy this woman! do you; how ſhall I have no deſire to enjoy her! another; how ſhall I be freed from this man! do you; how ſhall I not need to be freed from him! a third; how ſhall I prevent the loſs of my child! do you; how ſhall I not be afraid to loſe him! upon the whole; turn your prayers this way, and look what will be the effect. [1]

1 Of the ſame kind is that beautiful paſſage quoted by Gataker from Arrian II, 18.

'Stay, mortal! be not 'raſh. The combat is great. 'The attempt God-like. It 'is for ſovereignty; for li-'berty; for a current of 'life ever gentle, clear, and

41. Epicurus ſays: ‘ When I was ſick, my ‘ converſations were not about the diſeaſes of this ‘ poor body: nor did I ſpeak of any ſuch things ‘ to thoſe who came to me. But continued to diſ- ‘ courſe of theſe principles of natural philoſophy, ‘ I had before eſtabliſhed: and was chiefly intent ‘ on this; how the intellectual part, tho' it par- ‘ takes of ſuch violent commotions of the body, ‘ might remain undiſturbed, and preſerve its own ‘ proper good. Nor did I allow the phyſicians to ‘ make a noiſe, and vaunt, as if doing ſomething ‘ of great moment. But my life continued pleaſant ‘ and happy.' What he did, when under a diſeaſe, do you, alſo, if you fall into one, or are under any other uneaſy circumſtances: that is, never depart from your philoſophy, whatever befalls you; nor run into the ſilly way of the vulgar, and ſuch as are unacquainted with Nature. [1] It is the common maxim of all ſects of philoſophy; to be wholly intent on what they are doing, and the inſtrument or means by which they do it.

42. When you are diſguſted with the impu-

‘ unruffled. CALL TO MIND ‘ THE DEITY. INVOKE ‘ HIM TO BE YOUR ASSIS- ‘ TANT AND SUPPORTER: ‘ as men at ſea invoke Caſ- ‘ tor and Pollux in a ſtorm.'

[1] The Greek is corrupted here.

dence of any one, immediately aſk yourſelf; can the univerſe, then, be without the ſhameleſs? it cannot. Do not demand, then, what is impoſſible: for this is one of thoſe ſhameleſs men, who muſt needs be in the univerſe. Have the ſame queſtion alſo at hand, when ſhocked at the crafty, the faithleſs, or the faulty in any reſpect. For, while you remember it is impoſſible but ſuch kind of men muſt needs be in the univerſe, you will at the ſame time have more good-nature toward each of them in particular. It is highly uſeful, too, to have immediately this reflection: what virtue has Nature given man, enabling him to bear with this fault [in his fellow?] [1] for, againſt the unreaſonable, ſhe has given meekneſs, as an antidote: and ſo, againſt another, ſome other ability. You are alſo at full liberty to ſet right one who has wandered. Now, every one who does wrong [2] miſſes his aim, and has wandered. And, then, what harm, pray, have you got? for you will find, none of thoſe, at whom you are exaſperated, have done any thing

1 See Epictet. Enchirid. ſect. 9. and the Epiſtle to Titus, ch. 3. v. 1, and 3.

2 As all purſue what appears to them at that time, their proper good and happineſs. See, VI. 27. VIII. 14, and eſpecially V. 17 and the note.

by which the intellectual part of you was like to be the worſe. Now, what is your [real] evil, and harm, has all its ſubſiſtence there. And what is there evil, or ſtrange, if the uninſtructed acts like one uninſtructed? look if you ought not rather to blame yourſelf, for not having laid your account with this man's being guilty of ſuch faults. For you had the means from reaſon to have concluded with yourſelf, it is likely this man will be guilty of ſuch a fault; yet have forgot, and are ſurpriſed that he is guilty of it. But, eſpecially, when you blame any one as faithleſs, or ungrateful, turn to yourſelf: for the fault was, already, manifeſtly on your ſide; if, either you truſted, that one of ſuch a diſpoſition would keep his faith; or, if, when you gave a favour, you did not give it ultimately [without further view] ſo as to reap all the fruit of it by your very doing it. For, what would you more, when you have done a kind office to a man? is it not enough to you, that you have acted in this according to your Nature? do you aſk a reward for it? this is as if the eye were to aſk a reward for ſeeing; or the feet for walking. For, as theſe are formed for a certain purpoſe, which when they fulfill according to their proper ſtructure, they have their proper perfection; ſo, alſo, man, for-

med by nature for kind offices [to his fellows,] when he does any kind office to another, or any thing otherways conducive to the good of ſociety, has done what he is formed for; and has his proper good and perfection.

BOOK X.

1. WILT thou, ever, O my ſoul! be good, and ſimple, and one, and naked, more apparent than the body that ſurrounds thee? wilt thou ever taſte of the loving and affectionate temper? wilt thou ever be full, and without wants; without longings after any thing, without deſires after any thing, either animate or inanimate, for the enjoyment of pleaſure? or time, for lengthening the enjoyment? or of place, or country, or fine climate? or of the [1] ſocial concord of men? but [2] ſatisfied with thy preſent ſtate, and well-pleaſed

1 His leiſure was perpetually broke by wars.

2 Philippians, IV. 11. 'I have learned, in whatever ſtate I am, therewith to be content.'

Epictetus, in the Enchirid. 15. 'Remember, you 'ought to behave yourſelf 'in life, as if at an entertainment. Does any thing 'come, in courſe, to you? 'ſtretch out your hand, and 'take it gracefully. Does it 'go by you? do not ſtop it. 'Is it not come yet? do not 'long after it; but wait till 'it come to you. Do thus in 'the caſe of your children, 'of your wife, of power, of 'riches; and you ſhall be at 'length a worthy companion of the Gods. And if, 'even when ſet before you, 'you do not take, but overlook them; you ſhall then 'be not only a companion 'of the Gods, but a fellow 'governor with them.'

with every preſent circumſtance? perſuade [1] thyſelf thou haſt all things: all is [2] right and well with thee: and comes to thee from the Gods. And all ſhall be right and well for thee which they pleaſe to give, and which they are about to give for the ſafety of [3] the perfect animal; the good; the juſt; the fair; the parent of all things; the ſupporter, the container, the ſurrounder of all things; which are [all] diſſolving for the birth of ſuch others as themſelves. Wilt thou ever be able, ſo to live a fellow-citizen of [4] Gods and men, as, neither, in any reſpect, [5] to complain of them, nor be diſapproved by them.

2. [6] Obſerve what your nature demands as far as you are under the government of mere vegetative nature. Then do that, and approve it, if your nature, as an animal, will not be thence rendered

1 II. Corinth. VI. 10. 'Having nothing, yet poſſeſſing all things.' But the whole paſſage from verſe 3 to 11, is of the ſame kind, and extremely beautiful.

2 Rom. VIII. 28. 'All things work together for good to them who love God.'

3 The univerſe: ſee, IV. 23.

4 Philip. III. 20. 'Our converſation, (or, as it may be rather tranſlated, the city we belong to,) is in heaven.'

5 Rom. XIV, 18. 'Acceptable to God and approved of men.' See XII. 12. and 24.

6 See the note at V. 36.

the worſe. Next you muſt obſerve what your nature, as an animal, demands. And take to yourſelf every thing of this kind, if your nature, as a rational animal, will not be thence rendered the worſe. Now it is plain the rational nature is alſo ſocial. So, uſe theſe rules, and trouble yourſelf for none further.

3. Whatever happens, happens ſuch as you are either formed by nature able to bear it, or not able to bear it. If ſuch as you are by nature formed able to bear, bear it and fret not: but if ſuch as you are not naturally able to bear, do not fret; for when it has conſumed you, itſelf will periſh. Remember, however, you are by nature formed able to bear whatever it is in the power of your own opinion to make ſupportable or tolerable, according as you conceive it advantageous, or your duty, to do ſo.

4. If he is going wrong, teach him humanely, and ſhow him his miſtake. If this be impoſſible for you, blame yourſelf; or not even yourſelf.

5. Whatever happens to you, it was before preparing for you from eternity; and the concatenation of cauſes had, from eternity, interwoven your ſubſiſtence with this contingency.

6. Whether all be atoms, or there be [preſiding] Natures, let this be laid down as indiſputable;

that I am a part of the whole; and the whole muſt be conducted by its own Nature, be that what it will: and that I am in ſome manner ſocially connected with the parts which are of the ſame kind with myſelf. For while I remember this, I ſhall, as I am a part, be diſſatisfied with nothing appointed me by the whole. For nothing advantageous to the whole is hurtful to the part. For the whole has nothing in it but what is advantageous to itſelf; that being common to all natures; and the nature of the whole has this further, that it cannot be forced by any external cauſe, to produce any thing hurtful to itſelf. By remembring, then, I am a part of ſuch a whole, I ſhall be well-pleaſed with every thing which comes from it. And as far as I am in ſome manner one of the ſame family with the parts of the ſame kind with me, I will be guilty of nothing unſocial; nay, I will rather aim at the good of my kind; turn the whole bent of my will to the public advantage, and withdraw it from the contrary. When I accompliſh theſe things in this manner, my life muſt needs glide ſmooth and clear: juſt ſo, as you would judge a citizen in a happy flow of life, who was going on in a courſe of action profitable for his fellow-citizens, and gladly embracing whatever is appointed him by the city.

7 The parts of the whole, all the parts, I mean, which the univerſe contains, muſt needs be in a ſtate of corruption. Let this expreſſion be uſed for denoting a ſtate of change. If then, I ſay, this be both evil and neceſſary to them, the whole cannot poſſibly be in a right ſtate; ſince the parts are prone to change, and remarkably formed for corrupting.——For, whether did nature herſelf take in hand to do evil to the parts of herſelf, and to make them both ſubject to fall into evil, and ſuch as of neceſſity have fallen into evil? or has this happened without her knowledge?——both theſe are equally incredible.——And if one, quitting the notion of a [preſiding] Nature, mean only that things are ſo conſtituted; how ridiculous! to ſay, the parts of the whole, by their very conſtitution, tend to change; and yet be ſurpriſed, or fretted, at any thing, as happening contrary to the nature of things: eſpecially, too, as the diſſolution of every thing is into thoſe very elements of which it is compoſed. For it is either a diſſipation of thoſe elements of which it was a mixture; or a converſion of them: of the ſolid to the earthy, and the ſpirituous to the aerial. So that theſe too are taken into the plan of the whole, which is either to undergo [1] periodical conflagrations, or be renewed

1 See V. 13. and the note.

by perpetual changes. And do not think you had all the earthy and the aerial parts from your birth. They were late acceſſions of yeſterday or the day before, by your food, and the air you breathed. Theſe acceſſions, therefore, are changed, and not what your mother bore. Grant that this their change [1] into the peculiar nature of your body makes you cling earneſtly to them, it alters nothing of what I was juſt now ſaying.

8. If you take to yourſelf theſe names, a good man, one of a high ſenſe of honour, modeſty, veracity; one of attention of mind, conformity of mind, elevation of mind; take care you never change them for others. And if you happen to loſe them at any time, run quickly back to them. And remember, by attention of mind you meant to denote, that your knowledge, in every thing, be always founded on a thorough unbiaſſed inquiry into the true nature of the objects; and that nothing enter your mind without being carefully examined: by conformity of mind; a willing acceptance of every thing appointed by the common Nature; by elevation of mind; the raiſing the thinking part ſuperior to any pleaſant or painful commotion of the fleſh, to the little views of fame,

1 This paſſage is extremely obſcure, critics only gueſs at ſome ſort of meaning to it.

to death, and all ſuch things. If, then, you ſtedfaſtly keep to theſe names, without affecting or deſiring theſe appellations from others, you will be quite another man; and enter into quite another life. For, to continue ſuch a one as you have been till now, and ſubject to the diſtraction and pollution of ſuch a life, is the part of [1] one extremely inſenſible, and fond of life; and who is like one of thoſe half-devoured combatants with the wild beaſts [in the public ſhows] who, when covered with wounds and gore, yet beg to be preſerved till to morrow; even to be expoſed again to the ſame jaws and fangs. Reſolutely force yourſelf into theſe few characters; and, if you are able to abide in them, abide, as one who has removed and ſettled in the [2] fortunate iſlands. But if you perceive you fall from them, and ſucceed not thoroughly [in your intention to abide in them,] retire boldly into ſome corner, where you may prevail, [by meeting with leſs oppoſition] or, even, depart out of life altogether; yet not angry [that you could not prevail;] but with ſimplicity, liberty, and modeſty; having at leaſt performed

1 *Propter vitam vivendi perdere cauſas.*

2 The poetical repreſentations of the tranquillity and happineſs of theſe iſlands of the bleſſed are well known.

this one thing well, in life, that you have in this manner departed out of it. Now, it will greatly aſſiſt you to keep in mind theſe names, if you keep in mind the Gods, and that they do not want [1] adulation and flattery from their worſhippers, but that all beings indued with reaſon ſhould become [2]

1 This ſentiment occurs often in the Scriptures, particularly in the 50th pſalm, and 1ſt chap. of Iſaiah; and ſeems not to have been uncommon among the Heathens themſelves; as appears by the following fragment of a dramatic poet, which is no way aggravated in the tranſlation.

Is there, on earth, a man, ſo much a fool;
So ſilly in credulity; who thinks
That fleſhleſs bones and the fry'd bile of beaſts,
Which were not food even for a hungry dog,
Are offerings that the Gods delight to take;
And ſuch the honours they expect from men:
Or, on account of theſe, will favour ſhew,
Tho' robbers, pyrates, nay tho' tyrants be
The offerers. *See Clem. Alex. Strom. 7.*

Compoſitum jus faſque animo, ſanctoſque receſſus
Mentis, et incoctum generoſo pectus honeſto;
Haec cedo ut admoveam templis, et farre litabo.

PERSIUS ſat. 2.

2 This is the ſame with the grand Chriſtian doctrine of the divine life. '(1) To 'be transformed into the 'ſame image with God. (2) 'To be conformed to the 'image of his ſon. (3) Ye 'ſhall be holy as I the Lord 'your God am holy. (4) 'Pure as God your father is 'pure. Righteous even as he 'is righteous. (5) Merciful

like unto themſelves: keep in mind too that that is a fig-tree, which performs the buſineſs of a fig-tree; a dog, which performs that of a dog; a bee, that of a bee; and a man who performs the buſineſs of a man.

9. The public diverſions [which you muſt attend in Rome;] the wars [abroad,] the conſternation, ſtupidity, and ſlavery of thoſe about you, will wipe out daily, [if you take not heed,] thoſe ſacred maxims; unleſs [1] you have ſettled them upon a thorough conſideration of nature, and laid them up in your mind. You ought ſo to think, and act, on every occaſion, that, while you are diſcharging any external office, your contemplative powers may, at the ſame time, be exerting themſelves, and [2] your confidence in yourſelf, from

'as your father alſo is mer-
'ciful. (6) Be ye there-
'fore perfect even as your
'father which is in heaven
'is perfect.' Clemens Alex. teſtifies too, more than once, that he found the ſame doctrine in Plato: ſee Gataker on this place.

(1) II. Cor. 3. 18. (2) Rom. 8. 29. (3) Levit. 19. 2. and I. Peter 1. 16. (4) I. John 3. 3, 7. (5) Luke 6. 36. (6) Matth. 5. 48.

1 The text is corrupt here. The tranſlation is according to a conjecture of Gataker's.

2 This is the fartheſt that can be from what we commonly call ſelf-ſufficiency, or a ſtiff and ſelf-willed temper. It is a virtue highly neceſſary in ſome of the ſweeteſt characters; who, often, from too modeſt a diffi-

your right knowledge of things, be preſerved; unobſerved perhaps, but not deſignedly concealed. For, then, you will enjoy ſimplicity; then, a dignity of deportment; then, an accurate inquiry into every thing which occurs; what it is in its real nature; what place and rank it has in the univerſe; how long it is naturally fitted to laſt; what it is compoſed of; who may poſſeſs it; and who may give it, and take it away.

10. The ſpider exults if it has caught a fly: another, if he has caught a little hare; another, if a little fiſh in a purſe-net; another, if he has hunted down wild-boars; another, if bears; another, if he has conquered the Sarmatians. Are not all theſe robbers alike, if you examine their ſentiments? [1]

11 Acquire a method of contemplating how all things change into one another. Apply conſtantly to this part [of philoſophy,] and exerciſe

dence of themſelves, ſubmit their own finer ſentiments, and allow themſelves to be guided and led wrong, by men of far leſs genius and worth than themſelves, whoſe low views their own candour makes them not ſuſpect.

1 This has probably been occaſioned by the behaviour of ſome of his officers, upon ſeizing parties of the Sarmatians, with whom the Romans were then at war; and deſigned to repreſs the vanity of conquerors.

yourſelf thoroughly in it. For there is nothing ſo proper as this for raiſing you to an elevation and greatneſs of mind. He who does this, has already put off the body, and being ſenſible how inſtantly he muſt depart from among men, and leave all theſe things behind him, reſigns himſelf entirely to [1] juſtice, in whatever he does himſelf; and to the nature of the whole, in every thing elſe which happens. What any one may ſay or think of him, or do againſt him, on this he ſpends not a thought. He ſatisfies himſelf with theſe two things: with acting juſtly in what he is at preſent doing; and with loving what is at preſent appointed for him. He has thrown off all hurry and buſtle; and has no other will but this, to [2] go on in the ſtraight way [3] according to the law; and to [4] follow God

1 Juſtice is taken here in the extenſive Platonic ſenſe, regarding not only what are called the rights of mankind, but comprehending reſignation to God, and all the kindeſt ſocial virtues. See, XI. 20. at the end; and, XII. 1.

2 See, V. 3.

3 See, II. 16. at the end.

4 According to Gataker, Antoninus has here before his eye the following paſſage of Plato in the 4th book of the laws. 'God, in whoſe 'hand is the beginning, end, 'and middle of all things, 'purſues the ſtraight way; 'going about every where, 'according to nature. He 'is always attended by Juſ-'tice, who puniſhes thoſe 'who come ſhort in their 'obſervance of the divine 'law; the man who is a-

in the ſtraight way.

12. What need of ſuſpicions [about the event?] ſince you can conſider what ought to be done: and if you underſtand that ſurely, go on in the road to it, calmly, and inflexibly [1]. But if you are not ſure, ſuſpend, and conſult the beſt adviſers. If you meet with any obſtacles in the way, proceed with a prudent caution, according to the means you have; keeping cloſe to what appears juſt. For that is the beſt mark to aim at. Since the failing in that is the only proper miſcarriage. He who, in every thing, follows reaſon [or the law of his nature] is always at leiſure, and yet ready for any buſineſs; always chearful, and yet compoſed.

13. As ſoon as you awake, immediately aſk yourſelf. Will it be of conſequence to you, if what is juſt and good be done by ſome other perſon? it will not. Have you forgot, thoſe who aſſume ſuch airs of importance in their praiſes and cenſures of others, what kind of men they are in bed, and at table? what their actions are; what they ſhun, and what purſue? what they ſteal, and what they rob? not with feet and hands, but with their moſt precious part; by which one may, if he has the

'bout to live happy, keeps
'cl-ſe by her, and follows
'God along with her.'

1 The reading in the original here is uncertain.

will, procure to himſelf faith, honour and modeſty, truth, [1] law, and a good divinity within, [which is the ſupreme felicity or good-fortune.]

14. To [the preſiding] Nature, which gives and reſumes again all things, the well-inſtructed mind, poſſeſſed of a ſenſe of honour and decency, ſays; 'Give what thou willeſt: take back what 'thou willeſt.' And this he ſays not with an arrogant oſtentation, but with obedience alone, and good-will to her.

15. This remainder you have of life is ſmall. Live, as if on a [lonely] mountain. For 'tis no matter whether there or here, if one, where-ever he lives, conſiders the univerſe as a city. Let men ſee and know you to be a man indeed, living according to nature. If they cannot bear with you, let them put you to death. For better ſo than live as they do.

16. Spend your time no longer, in diſcourſing on what are the qualities of the good man; but in actually being ſuch.

17. Frequently repreſent to your imagination a view of the whole of time, and the whole of ſubſtance: and that every individual thing is, in ſub-

1 The grand law of promoting the perfection of the whole, obedience to which is the ſupream happineſs. B. VIII. 2. and X. 25.

ſtance, as a grain of millet; and, in duration, as a [1] turn of a wimble.

18. Conſider, with attention, each of the things around you as already diſſolving, and in a ſtate of change, and, as it were, corruption, or diſſipation; or, as each formed by nature ſuch as to die.

19. What ſort of men are they when eating, ſleeping, procreating, eaſing nature, and the like! and, then, what ſort of men when [2] diſtributing their largeſſes, and elate with pride; or angry, and ſharply rebuking with a ſtately inſolence! to how many were they, but lately, ſlaves, and on what accounts! and in what condition will they ſhortly be?

20. That is for the advantage of each which the nature of the whole brings to each. And for his advantage at that time, at which ſhe brings it.

21. [3] ‘Earth loves the rain;’——‘and the ‘majeſtic ether loves [the earth.’] The univerſe, alſo, loves to do that which is going to happen. I ſay, then to the univerſe; [4] what thou loveſt I love. Is not our common [5] phraſe according to

1 This is a proverbial ſimile for things that paſs in a moment.

2 This word is uncertain in the original.

3 From Euripides.

4 φιλει in Greek as *amat* in Latin for *ſolet*.

5 Thus Epictetus, Arrian II. 16. ‘Have the con-

fact, when we ſay ‹ ſuch a thing loves to be ſo,' [to denote that it is uſual or natural.]

22. Either you are living here, and now habituated to it: or going hence, and that was your will: or you are dying, and have finiſhed your public offices in life. Now beſides theſe there is nothing elſe. So, take courage.

23. Let this be always manifeſt to you: that a country retirement is juſt like any other place; and that [1] all things are the ſame there as on the mountain-top, or at the wild ſea-coaſt, or any where. For you may always meet with that of Plato, who ſays, ‹ [The wiſe man ever enjoys retire-‹ ment;] he makes the city-wall ſerve him for a ‹ ſhepherd's fold on a hill-top.'

‹ rage to lift up your eyes to ‹ God, and ſay: uſe me, ‹ after this, for what pur-‹ poſes thou willeſt; my ‹ ſentiments concur with ‹ thee. I plead againſt no-‹ thing which ſeems proper ‹ to thee.' And IV. 7. ‹ I ‹ adhere to him as a ſervant ‹ and attendant. His pur-‹ poſe, his deſire, and in a ‹ word, his will, is mine al-‹ ſo.' Thus alſo Seneca in his antithetical way. Epiſt. 96, ‹ I do not [barely] obey ‹ God, but [cordially] aſſent ‹ to him. I follow him from ‹ inclination, and not ne-‹ ceſſity.' So that reſignation to the will of God, in the higheſt ſenſe, appears to have been a maxim univerſal among the Stoics.

1 ‹ To what place ſoever ‹ I go, there I can enjoy the ‹ ſun &c. ——and there the ‹ ſociety of the Gods.' Epictet. II. 25.

24. What is my governing-part to me? and to what purpoſes am I now uſing it? is it void of underſtanding? is it looſened and rent off from ſociety? is it glewed to, and incorporated with the fleſh, ſo as to turn which way that pleaſes?

25. He who flies from his maſter is a fugitive-ſlave. Now, the law is our maſter; and ſo the tranſgreſſor of the law is the fugitive: and he, alſo, who is grieved, or angry, or afraid, becauſe any thing has happened, or is happening, or formerly happened, of theſe things which are ordered by him who governs all: who is [1] the law, appointing to every one what is proper for him. He, then, who is afraid, or grieved, or angry, is the fugitive-ſlave.

26. When one has caſt the ſeed into the womb, he departs: another cauſe receives it, operates, and finiſhes the infant. Wonderful production from ſuch a beginning! again, the infant lets the food down its throat; and then another cauſe receives it, and transforms it into [organs of] ſen-

1 This paſſage clears up many others where the ſame word occurs obſcurely. See, VII. 31.

Thus alſo, the author of the book de Mundo, which goes under Ariſtotle's name; chap. 6. 'For our law, exactly impartial to all, is 'God; incapable of amendment or change; more excellent, I think, and ſtable, than thoſe written on 'the tables of Solon.'

ſation, motion, and, in a word, life, and ſtrength, and other things how many and ſurpriſing! contemplate therefore, theſe things, tho' done ſo very covertly, and view the power [which produces them] in the ſame way as you view the power which makes bodies tend downwards or upwards: not with your eyes, indeed; yet no leſs manifeſtly.

27. Frequently reflect, how all things which happened formerly were juſt ſuch as happen now. Reflect, alſo, that ſuch too will thoſe be which are to enſue. And place before your eyes the whole, which you have ever known, either from your own experience, or ancient hiſtory; dramas, and ſcenes, all of the ſame kind. Such as the whole court of Hadrian; the whole court of Antoninus; the whole court of Philip; of Alexander; of Croeſus. For all theſe were of the ſame kind [with your own] only compoſed of other perſons.

28. Conceive every one, who is grieved, or ſtorms, at any thing whatever, to be like the pig in a ſacrifice, which kicks and ſcreams, while under the knife. Such too is he, who, on his couch, deplores in ſilence, by himſelf, that we are all tied to our fate. Conſider, too, that, only to the rational animal it is given to follow [1] willingly what

1 Epictetus. II. 16. 'All | 'deſire, effeminacy, intem-
'theſe, ſorrow, fear, envy, | 'perance, it is impoſſible

happens. But the bare following is a neceſſity upon all.

29. Look attentively on each particular thing you are doing; and aſk yourſelf, if death be a terror becauſe it deprives you of this.

30. [1] When you are offended at a fault of any one, immediately turn to yourſelf; and conſider, what fault of a like kind you yourſelf commit. Such as judging money to be good; or pleaſure; or glory; and ſo of the reſt. For, by fixing your attention on this, you will quickly forget your anger; taking this along, too, that he is [2] forced. For, what elſe could he do? or, if you can, remove what forces him.

'for you to throw off, otherways than by looking up to God, giving yourſelf up to him, piouſly embracing all he orders. Nay tho' your will be otherways, yet with all your wailing and groaning, you muſt ſtill follow him, as the ſtronger.'

1 It is recorded of Plato, that he practiſed habitually this maxim. In Epictetus too the following divine paſſage is of the ſame kind, IV. 4. 'I attend to what men ſay, and how they act, not with any bad intention, or that I may have matter of blaming, or laughing at them; but I turn into myſelf to ſee if, I too, commit the ſame faults. [My next inquiry is] how ſhall I get free of them? if I alſo was ſubject formerly to the ſame weakneſs, and am not now; 'TIS TO GOD I GIVE THE PRAISE.'

2 See VI. 27. and IX. 42.

31. When you conſider [1] Satyrio the Socratic, think on Eutyches, or Hymen: and, when you conſider Euphrates, think on Eutychio or Silvanus. Andwhen Alciphron, think on Tropaeophorus; and when you conſider Xenophon, think on Crito or Severus. And when you look into yourſelf, think on any one of the Ceſars. And ſo analogouſly, when you ſee any body elſe. Then let this at the ſame time enter your mind: where, now, are thoſe? no where? or who can tell? for thus you will conſtantly behold all human things as ſmoke and nothing. Eſpecially if you recollect, that, what has once changed, will never exiſt again through all the infinity of time. How ſoon, then, will your change come? and why is it not ſufficient to you to paſs this ſhort ſpace gracefully [in this univerſe.] How fine a [2] ſubject of employment to yourſelf are you ſhunning? for, what are all things but exerciſes for that rational power which hath viewed all things that occur in life, with accuracy, and according to their true natures? ſtay, then, till

1 Of theſe names which follow, few are known; but it is plain, in general, his deſign here is, that, the ſight of remarkable men ſhould make one call to mind others like them in former ages, who are now gone. And that no man is of ſuch importance, that he will be much miſſed in the univerſe; others as great are ariſing.

2 See VII. 68.

you make all theſe things familiar to yourſelf: as the healthy ſtomach adapts all things to itſelf: as [1] the ſhining fire turns whatever you throw on it, into flame and ſplendor.

32. Let no body have it in his power to ſay with truth of you, that you are not a man of ſimplicity, candour and goodneſs. But let him be miſtaken, whoever has ſuch an opinion of you. Now, all this is in your own power. For, what is he who hinders you to be good, and ſingle-hearted? only do you determine to live no longer if you are not to be ſuch a man. For neither does [2] reaſon, in that caſe, require you ſhould.

33. In this preſent matter you are employed about, what can be done or ſaid in the ſoundeſt, [and moſt upright] manner? for, whatever that be, you are at liberty to do or ſay it. And do not make pretences, as if hindered. You will never ceaſe from groaning [and repining,] till once you be ſo affected, that ſuch as luxury is to the men of pleaſure, ſuch be to you the doing, in every ſubject of action that is thrown in your way, or falls into it, thoſe things which are properly ſuitable to the frame and conſtitution of man. For, every thing, which you are at liberty to perform

1 See the ſame ſimile beautifully applied, IV. 1.
2 See IX. 29.

according to your own proper nature, you muſt conceive to be a delightful enjoyment; and you have this liberty every where. Now, to the cylinder, it is not given to move every where in its proper motion: nor to the water: nor to the fire: nor to any of thoſe other things which are governed by a nature or a ſoul irrational: for there are many things which reſtrain, and ſtop them. But intelligence and reaſon can purſue the courſe it is naturally fitted for, and wills, thro' every obſtacle. Place before your eyes this eaſineſs with which reaſon goes on through all obſtacles, as the fire upward, as the ſtone downward, as the cylinder on the declivity; and ſeek for nothing further. For the other ſtops are, either thoſe of the inſenſible carcaſe, or ſuch as do not hurt the man, or do him any evil, unleſs by opinion, and by Reaſon's own yielding itſelf to them, otherways he who ſuffered by them, would himſelf preſently have become evil. In all other fabrics, indeed, whatever evil happens to them, the ſufferer itſelf thereby becomes the worſe. But, here, if I may ſay ſo, the man becomes even the better, and the more praiſeworthy, by making a right uſe of what falls acroſs to him. Upon the whole, remember, nothing hurts him who is by nature a citizen, which hurts not the city; nor hurts the city, which hurts not the

law. Now none of these things called misfortunes hurt the law. So, what hurts not the law, neither hurts the city nor the citizen.

34. To him, whose heart the true maxims have pierced, the shortest, the most common hint is a sufficient memorial to keep himself free of sorrow and fear. Such as,

‘ [1] Some leaves the winds blow down: the fruitful wood
‘ Breeds more mean-while; which in spring-tide appear.’
‘ Of men, thus, ends one race, while one is born.’

your children, too, are little leaves; and these are leaves too, who declaim with such important airs of assurance, and sound forth the praises of others, or, on the contrary, curse them; or, who privately censure and sneer at them. In the same manner, these are leaves, also, who are to preserve your surviving fame. For all these, ‘ in spring-tide ap‘ pear.’ Then the wind shall presently throw them down. And the forrest breed others in their stead. The short-lived existence is common to them all. Yet are you dreading or courting them, as if they

1 Iliad VI. 148. Brevity is chiefly studied in the translation of these three lines of the Iliad; as designed for a short hint.

were to be eternal. Nay, in a little, you will close your eyes. And him, who carries you out to your funeral, shall another bewail.

35. The sound eye ought to behold [with ease] all the objects of sight; and not say, 'I want 'the green:' for that is like one who has sore eyes. The sound ear, and sense of smelling, ought to be ready for all the objects of hearing and smelling; and the sound stomach be equally disposed for all sorts of food, as a miln for all it is framed to grind. So also the sound mind ought to be ready for all things which happen. That mind which says, 'let my children be preserved; and let all 'men applaud whatever I do;' is an eye which seeks the green objects; or teeth, which seek the tender food.

36. There is no man of so happy a lot, but that, when he dies, some of the by-standers will rejoice at the [1] evil which befalls him. Was he good and wise? will there not be some-body, who, at his death, will say within himself? 'I shall at 'last get breathing from this strict tutor. He was 'not indeed severe to any of us. Yet I was sen-'sible he tacitly condemned us.' Thus will they say of the good man. But, in my case, how many other reasons are there, for which, multitudes would

1 Death being in their opinion an evil.

gladly get rid of me? this you may reflect on, when a-dying; [1] and depart with the leſs regret, when you conſider, ‹ I am going out of ſuch a life, ‹ that, in it, my very partners, for whoſe ſakes I ‹ underwent and ſtruggled with ſo many labours, ‹ put up ſo many prayers, had ſo many cares, thoſe ‹ very men are wiſhing me to be gone; hoping ‹ from thence, 'tis likely, for ſome other ſatisfac- ‹ tion.' Who, then, would ſtrive for a longer ſtay here? do not, however, on this account, go off leſs benign toward them; but preſerve your own manners, and continue to them friendly, benevolent, and propitious: and, on the other hand, do not go off, as torn away; but as, when one dies a gentle death, the ſoul comes eaſily out of the body; ſuch alſo ought your departure from theſe men to be. For Nature had knit and cemented you to them: but now ſhe parts you. I part, then, as from relations; not reluctant however, but peaceable. For death, too, is one of the things according to nature.

37. Accuſtom yourſelf, as much as poſſible, in every thing any one is doing, to conſider with yourſelf; what end does he refer this to? but, begin, at home; and examine yourſelf firſt.

1 This is one of thoſe he calls popular ſupports, which yet ſtrike the heart: ſee IX. 3.

38. Remember, 'tis [1] that which lies hid within, which draws and turns you [2] as the wires do the puppet. 'Tis that, is eloquence: that, life: that, if I may ſay ſo, is the man. Never blend with it, in your imagination, this ſurrounding earthen veſſel, and theſe little organs. They are but like the ax, [any tool of any artizan,] with this only difference, that they are naturally united with us: ſince, none of theſe parts are of any more ſervice, without the cauſe which moves and ſtops them, than the ſhuttle is to the weaver; the pen, to the writer; or the whip, to the charioteer.

1 Paſſions and opinions in the mind.

2 See this term explained, at II, 2. in the note.

BOOK XI.

1. THESE are the privileges of the rational ſoul: it contemplates itſelf: it forms or faſhions itſelf in all parts: it makes itſelf ſuch as it deſires: [1] the fruit it bears, itſelf enjoys; whereas, others enjoy the fruits of vegetables and lower animals: it always obtains its end, whenſoever the cloſe of life may overtake it. In the dance, or the dramatic action, if by any thing interrupted, the whole action is made incomplete; but, as to the ſoul, in whatever part of action, or whereſoever, overtaken by death, the paſt action [2] may be a complete whole, without any defect. So that,

1 See IX. 10.

2 As the ſupream excellence of the rational ſoul is, according to the Stoics, an entire conformity to the will of the preſiding Mind, or agreement with nature; and this is their ſupream and only happineſs: he who acts well the part appointed to him, whether a long or a ſhort one, has attained to the greateſt happineſs and perfection of his nature. Hence their paradox, that 'length of time is of no im-'portance to happineſs.' All obſtacles to our deſigns about external things, afford new occaſions of the beſt actions, thoſe which are moſt conformable to nature: ſuch as reſignation to the will of God; good-will toward thoſe who oppoſe us; ſubmiſſion to any diſtreſſes, or to an early death, happening by the divine Providence. And thus our part may always be complete.

I may ſay, ‹ I have obtained all which is mine.' Nay, further, it ranges around the whole univerſe, and the void ſpaces beyond; views its extent; ſtretches into the immenſity of duration, and conſiders and comprehends the periodical renovation of the whole. It diſcerns, alſo, that thoſe who come after us ſhall ſee nothing new; and that our predeceſſors ſaw no more than we have ſeen. Nay, one who has lived but forty years, if of any tolerable underſtanding, has, becauſe of the uniformity of all things, ſeen, in a manner, all that is paſt and future. Theſe, too, are the properties of the rational ſoul: love to all around us; truth, and modeſty; and the reſpecting nothing more than itſelf: which, too, is the property of the [1] law. Thus, there is no difference between right reaſon and the [2] reaſon of juſtice.

2. You may be enabled to deſpiſe the delightful ſong, or the dance, or the admired exerciſes; if you divide the harmonious tune into its ſeveral notes, and aſk yourſelf about each of them apart, ‹ Is it this which ſo charms and conquers me?' for you would bluſh to own that. Do the like as to the dance, about each poſture and motion; and the like about the exerciſes. In general, as to all things, except virtue, and the offices of virtue, re-

1 See X. 25. 2 See X. 12. and the note.

member to enure yourſelf to a low eſtimation of them, by running forthwith to their ſeveral parts, and conſidering them ſeparately. Transfer the like practice to the whole of life.

3. How happy is that ſoul, which is prepared, either to depart preſently from the body, or to be extinguiſhed, or diſperſed, or to remain along with it! but, let this preparation ariſe from its own judgment, and not from mere obſtinacy, like that of the [1] Chriſtians; that you may die conſiderately, with a venerable compoſure; ſo as even to perſuade others into a like diſpoſition; and without noiſe, or oſtentation.

4. Have I done any thing ſocial and kind? is not this itſelf my advantage [2]? let this thought always occur; and never ceaſe to do ſuch actions.

1 It is no wonder an Heathen emperor ſhould thus ſpeak of the Chriſtians. It is well known that their ardour for the glory of martyrdom was frequently immoderate; and was cenſured even by ſome of the primitive fathers. This is no diſhonour to Chriſtianity, that it did not quite extirpate all ſort of human frailty. And there is ſomething ſo noble in the ſtedfaſt lively faith, and the ſtable perſuaſion of a future ſtate, which muſt have ſupported this ardour, that it makes a ſufficient apology for this weakneſs, and gives the ſtrongeſt confirmation of the Divine power accompanying the Goſpel.

2 See the end of the IX book.

5. What art do you profeſs? to be good. And, how elſe is this to be accompliſhed, but by the great maxims about the nature of the whole, and about the peculiar [1] ſtructure and furniture of human nature?

6. Tragedies were, at firſt, introduced, as remembrancers of the events which frequently happen, and muſt happen, according to the courſe of nature; and to intimate, that, ſuch events, as entertain us on the ſtage, we ſhould, without repining, bear upon the greater ſtage of the world. You ſee that ſuch things muſt be accompliſhed; and, that thoſe perſons could not avoid bearing them, who made the moſt diſmal exclamations, '[2] Alas Cithoeron!' our dramatic poets have many profitable ſayings; ſuch as that, eſpecially,

'Me and my children, if the Gods neglect,
'It is for ſome good reaſon.'——

and again,

1 This, as it was often mentioned already, is ſuch as both recommends to us all pious veneration and ſubmiſſion to God, and all ſocial affections; and makes ſuch diſpoſitions our chief ſatisfaction and happineſs.

2 This relates to the celebrated tragedy of Sophocles, being the exclamation of Oedipus in his diſtreſs, wiſhing he had periſhed in his childhood when he was expoſed on that mountain.

‹ Vain is all anger at the external things.'

and,

‹ For life is, like the loaden'd ear, cut down.'

and ſuch like.

To tragedy ſucceeded the ancient comedy; uſing a very inſtructive liberty of ſpeech; and, by open direct cenſure, humbling the pride of the great. To this end, Diogenes uſed ſomething of the ſame nature. Next, conſider well, for what purpoſe the middle comedy, and the new, was introduced; which, by degrees, is degenerated, from the moral view, into the mere ingenuity of artificial imitation. 'Tis well known, however, that they, too, contain many uſeful admonitions. But, conſider for what [1] purpoſe this whole contrivance of poetry, and dramatical pieces, was intended.

7. How manifeſt is it, that [2] no other courſe

1 I ſuppoſe, to make us ſee, that many calamities, unlucky accidents, crimes, frauds, oppreſſions, and cunning artifices, are to be expected in the world; and to make them ſo familiar to us, that we ſhall not be much ſurpriſed, or loſe preſence of mind, and proper ſelf-command and recollection, when they happen.

2 This is an amiable notion of Providence, that it has ordered for every good man that ſtation of life, and thoſe circumſtances, which infinite wiſdom foreſaw were fitteſt for his ſolid improvement in virtue, according to that original diſpoſition of nature which God had given him.

of life was more adapted to the practice of philoſophy than that you are engaged in?

8. A branch broken off from that branch to which it adhered, muſt neceſſarily be broken off from the whole tree. Even thus, a man broken off from any fellow-man, has fallen off from the ſocial community. A branch muſt always be broke off by the force of ſomething elſe: but, a man breaks off himſelf from his neighbour, by hatred or averſion; and is not aware that he thus tears off himſelf from the whole political union. But, this is the ſingular gift of Jupiter, who conſtituted this community, to mankind, that we may again reunite in this continuity, and grow together, and become natural parts, completing the whole. Yet, ſuch ſeparations, happening often, make the reunion and the reſtitution more difficult. In general, there is a conſiderable difference, between a branch which has always grown along, and conſpired, with the tree; and one which has been broken off, and ingrafted again. Of theſe, ſay the gardeners, they may [1] make one tree in appear-

1 There is great difficulty in aſcertaining the text here, and apprehending well what is intended by the terms of gardening alluded to. In general, 'tis the author's intention to ſhow how much a continued innocence of manners is preferable to even the moſt tho-

ance with the ſtock, but not make an uniform whole with it.

9. They who oppoſe you, in your progreſs according to right reaſon; as they cannot force you to quit the ſound courſe of action; ſo, let them not turn you off from your kind affections toward themſelves. Vigilantly perſiſt in both theſe; not only in the ſtable judgment and practice, but in all meekneſs toward thoſe who attempt to hinder you, or otherways give you trouble. 'Tis a ſign of weakneſs, either to be enraged at them, or deſiſt from the right practice, and give up yourſelf as defeated. Both are deſerters from their poſt, the coward, and he who is alienated in affection from one by nature a-kin to him, and who ought to be beloved.

10. Nature cannot be inferior to art: the arts are but imitations of nature. If ſo, that nature which is of all others the moſt complete, and moſt comprehenſive, cannot be inferior to the moſt artificial contrivance. Now, all arts ſubject and ſubordinate the leſs excellent to that which is more

rough repentance after groſs vices; as to the inward tranquillity, and uniform ſatisfaction, of the ſoul with itſelf. To this refer many thoughts in the former books, about the advantage of 'being always ſtraight 'and upright, rather than 'one rectified and amended.'

excellent. The univerſal Nature muſt do the ſame. Hence the original of [1] Juſtice; and from Juſtice ſpring the other virtues. Juſtice cannot be preſerved, if we are anxiouſly ſollicitous about indifferent things, or are eaſily deceived, raſh in aſſent, or inconſtant.

11. If thoſe things which occaſion you ſuch diſturbance in the keen purſuits or dread of them, do not advance to you, but you advance toward them; reſtrain your judgments about them, and they will ſtand motionleſs; and you will neither purſue nor dread them.

12. The ſoul is as a poliſhed ſphere, when it neither [2] extends itſelf to any thing external, nor yields inwardly to it, nor is compreſſed in any part; but ſhines with that light which diſcovers both the truth in other things, and that [3] within itſelf.

1 The grand point of juſtice is the higheſt love to the ſupream goodneſs and excellence, and reſignation to infinite wiſdom; and, next to this, a ſteddy obedience to his will, in all acts of beneficence and goodneſs to our fellows. See X. 12.

2 That is, as it were, ſtretching into length by deſires, or admitting other things to ſtick to it by too eager and paſſionate fondneſs or anxiety, or yielding and ſinking under the preſſure of external evils. See, VIII. 41.

3 As the moſt important practical truths are found out by attending to the inward calm ſentiments or

13. Does any one deſpiſe me? let him ſee to it. I ſhall endeavour, not to be found acting or ſpeaking any thing worthy of contempt. Does any one hate me? let him ſee to it. I ſhall be kind and good-natured toward all; and even ready to ſhew to this man his miſtakes: not to upbraid him, or make a ſhew of my patience; but from a genuine goodneſs; as [1] that of Phocion, if he was truly ſincere. Such ſhould be your inward temper; ſo that the Gods may ſee you neither angry, nor repining at any thing. For what can be evil to you, if acting what ſuits your nature? will not thou bear whatever is now ſeaſonable to the nature of the univerſe, O man! thou, who art formed to

feelings of the heart: and this conſtitution of heart or ſoul is certainly the work of God, who created and ſtill pervades all things; it is juſt and natural to conceive all divine and ſocial diſpoſitions as the work of God: all the great moral maxims deeply affecting the ſoul, and influencing the conduct, are the illumination of God, and a divine attraction toward himſelf, and that way of life he requires.

Ille Deo plenus———
Haeremus cuncti ſuperis. Temploque tacente,
Nil facimus non ſponte Dei: nec vocibus ullis
Numen eget: dixitque ſemel naſcentibus auctor
Quicquid ſcire licet. Lucan. lib. IX.

1 The ſtory alluded to, is uncertain. Phocion was of the ſweeteſt and calmeſt temper.

will that every thing ſhould happen which is convenient for the whole.

14. Such as deſpiſe each other, yet are fawning on each other. Such as ſtrive to ſurpaſs each other, are yet [1] ſubjecting themſelves to each other.

15. How rotten and inſincere are theſe profeſſions: ‘ I reſolve to act with you in all ſimpli-‘ city and candour.’ What are you doing, man? what need you tell us this? it will appear of itſelf. This profeſſion ſhould appear written in the forehead: your temper ſhould ſparkle out in your eyes; as the perſon beloved diſcerns the affection in the eyes of the lover. The man of ſimplicity and goodneſs ſhould, in this, reſemble ſuch as have a diſagreeable ſmell in their armpits; his diſpoſition ſhould be perceived by all who approach him, whether they will or not. The oſtentation of ſimplicity is like a dagger for inſidious deſigns. Nothing is more odious than the friendſhip of the [2] wolf. Shun this above all things. The man of

1 By deſiring to obtain their applauſe, or fretting when diſappointed: or by ſuch paſſionate emulation or envy, as occaſions a great deal of pain when another ſucceeds in his deſigns.

2 Alluding to the fable of the treaty; in which, the ſheep gave up their dogs as hoſtages to the wolf, upon his kind profeſſions of friendſhip.

real goodneſs, ſimplicity, and kindneſs, bears them in his eyes, and cannot be unobſerved.

16. The power of living well is ſeated in the ſoul; if it be indifferent toward things which are [1] indifferent. It will obtain this indifference, if it examines them well in their parts, as well as in the whole; and remembers that none of them can form opinions in us, nor approach to us; but ſtand ſtill, without motion. Theſe judgments we form ourſelves, and as it were inſcribe them in ourſelves. We may prevent this inſcription; or, if it lurks within, unawares, immediately blot it out. 'Tis but for a ſhort time we ſhall need this vigilance. Our life ſhall preſently ceaſe. Where is the great difficulty of keeping theſe things right? if the opinions are according to nature, rejoice in them: they will ſit eaſy. If they are contrary to nature, examine what it is that ſuits your nature; and quickly haſte after it, tho' attended with no glory. A man is always excuſed, in purſuing his own proper good.

17. [Conſider] whence each thing aroſe; of what compounded; into what changed; what the cauſes of the change; and that it ſuffers no evil.

18. [As to thoſe who offend me, let me con-

1 All external things or events; every thing beſide virtue and vice. See B. II. 11.

ſider,] firſt, how I am related to them; that we were formed for each other; that, in another reſpect, I was ſet over them [for their defence,] as the ram over the flock, and the bull over the herd. Aſcend yet higher. There is either an empire of atoms, or an intelligent nature governing the whole. If this latter, [1] the inferior natures are formed for the ſuperior, and the ſuperior for each other.

Again, conſider [2] what ſort of men they are at table, in bed, and elſewhere; how neceſſarily they are influenced by their own maxims; and with [3] what high opinions of their own wiſdom they entertain them.

Thirdly, that, if they do right, you ought not to take it ill; if wrong, ſure 'tis [4] unwillingly and ignorantly. 'Tis unwillingly, that any ſoul is deprived of truth, by erring; or of juſtice, by a

1 This conſideration ſhould have great power in reſtraining all anger, malice, or envy: as no event happens but by the permiſſion of ſovereign goodneſs: and as the great command of this ſupream goodneſs, intimated in the very conſtitution of nature, is, that all intelligent beings ſhould love and do good to each other.

2 This thought leads us to pity the miſtakes and errors of others, becauſe of their ignorance; and has frequently occurred before.

3 See IX. 34.

4 See above, II. 1. and VIII. 14. with the places referred to there.

conduct unſuitable to the object. How uneaſy is it to them to be reputed unjuſt, inſenſible, covetous, or injuriouſly offenſive to all around them?

Fourthly, that [1] you have many faults of your own, and are much ſuch another. And, that, though you abſtain from ſome ſuch crimes, yet you have a like ſtrong inclination; however from fear, or concern about your character, you abſtain from them.

Fifthly, [2] you are not ſure they have done wrong. Many things may be done juſtly, with another intention than you imagine, on ſome ſingular occaſions, a man muſt be well informed of many points, before he can pronounce ſurely about the actions of others.

Sixthly, when your anger and reſentment is higheſt, remember human life is but for a moment. We ſhall be all preſently ſtretched out dead corpſes.

Seventhly, that 'tis not the action of others, which diſturbs us. Their actions reſide in their own ſouls. Our opinions alone diſturb us. Away with them; remove the notion of ſome terrible evil befallen you, and the anger is gone. How ſhall I remove it? by conſidering that what befalls you, has no moral turpitude: and, if you allow

1 See X. 30. 2 This explains IX. 38.

any thing elſe to be [1] evil, you muſt fall into many crimes, may become a robber, or one of the worſt character.

Eightly, what worſe [2] evils we ſuffer by anger and ſorrow for ſuch things, than by the things themſelves, about which thoſe paſſions ariſe.

Ninthly, that meekneſs is invincible, where it is genuine, and ſincere without hypocriſy. For, what can the moſt inſolent do to you, if you ſtedfaſtly perſiſt in kindneſs to him, and, upon occaſion, mildly admoniſh and inſtruct him thus, at the very time he is attempting to do you an injury? ‹ Do not do ſo, my ſon! Nature formed us for a ‹ quite different conduct. You cannot hurt me; ‹ you hurt yourſelf, my ſon!' and ſhew him tenderly, and in general, that it is ſo; that bees, and other tribes of animals, do not thus behave to their fellows. But, this muſt be done without ſcorn or reproach; with a genuine good-will; and with a

1 This reaſoning is frequent among the Stoics. If other things are reputed evils beſide vices, ſay they, ſome high degrees of theſe natural evils impending may overpower our virtuous reſolutions. If we dread pain, poverty, or death, as great evils; in order to avoid them, we may be tempted to acts of injuſtice, to break our faith, or deſert our duty to our friends or our country.

2 That is moral evils, unkind affections, murmurings againſt Providence.

calm mind, not ſtung with the injury, without oſtentation of your philoſophy, or any view to draw admiration from ſpectators; but as deſigned for him alone, altho' others may be preſent. Remember theſe nine topics, as gifts received from the muſes; and begin at length to become a man, for the reſt of life. But guard againſt flattering men, as well as being angry with them: both are unſociable, and lead to miſchief. And, in all anger, recollect, that wrath is not the manly diſpoſition; that calm meekneſs, as it more becomes the rational nature, ſo, it is more manly. Strength, and nerves, and fortitude, attend this diſpoſition, and not the wrathful and repining: the nearer this diſpoſition approaches to an immunity from paſſion, the nearer is it alſo to ſtrength and power. As ſorrow is a weak paſſion, ſo is anger: both have received the wound, and yield to it.

If you want a tenth gift from the preſident, [or, leader,] of the muſes; take this: that, to expect bad men ſhould not commit faults, is madneſs: 'tis demanding an impoſſibility. To allow them to injure others, and demand they ſhould not injure you, is fooliſh and [1] tyrannical.

1 Denying the *jus aequum in populo libero*; and raiſing yourſelf above the common lot of mankind, as tyrants and uſurpers do; contrary to the laws of the ſtate where they live.

19. Theſe [1] four diſpoſitions of the ſoul you ſhould chiefly watch againſt; and, if diſcovered, blot them out; by ſaying thus concerning each of them. ‹ This appearance is not certain evi‹ dence. This diſpoſition tends to diſſolve the ſo‹ cial community. You could not ſay this from ‹ the heart: now you muſt repute it the moſt ab‹ ſurd thing, to ſpeak not according to your own ‹ heart.' And, fourthly, [ſuppreſs] whatever you are conſcious is the part of one who is defeated, and ſubjects the diviner part to the more diſhonourable and mortal, the body, and its groſſer paſſions.

20. The aerial and etherial parts in your compoſition, tho' they naturally aſcend; yet, obedient to the order of the whole, they are retained here in the compound. The earthy and humid parts, tho' they naturally deſcend; yet are raiſed, and ſtand erect, tho' not their natural ſituation. Thus, the elements, whereſoever placed by the ſuperior Power, obey the whole; waiting till the ſignal be given for their diſſolution. Is it not grievous, that the intellectual part alone ſhould be diſobedient, and fret at its ſituation? nor is there any thing violent and oppoſite to its nature impoſed upon it; but all according to its nature; and yet, it cannot

1 Raſhneſs of aſſent, anger, inſincerity, ſenſuality.

bear them, but is carried away in a contrary courſe: for, all its motions toward injuſtice, debauchery, ſorrows, and fears, are ſo many departures from its nature. And, when the ſoul frets at any event, it is deſerting its appointed ſtation. It is formed for holineſs and piety toward God, no leſs than for juſtice. Nay, theſe are branches of [1] ſocial goodneſs; yea, rather more venerable than any of the branches of juſtice toward men.

21. He who has not propoſed one conſtant end of life, cannot perſiſt one and the ſame in the whole of life. But, that is not enough: you muſt examine this alſo; what that end or purpoſe ought to be. For, as the ſame opinion is not entertained concerning all thoſe things which to the vulgar appear good, but only concerning ſome of them, ſuch as are of public utility; ſo, your end propoſed muſt be of the ſocial and political kind. For, he alone who directs all his purſuits to ſuch an end, can make all his actions uniform, and in this manner ever remain the ſame man.

22. Remember the [2] country-mouſe, and the

1 The Stoics ſpeak of the univerſe, as a great ſociety or ſtate made up of Gods and men, and therefore obedience and reſignation is a piece of juſtice to the governours of this ſtate. See B. V. 22.

2 The fable is well known, repreſenting the ſafety and tranquillity of a retired life, and a low ſtation; and the dangers of ambition.

city-mouſe; and the conſternation and trembling of the latter.

23. Socrates called the maxims of the vulgar hob-goblins, and terrors only for children.

24. The Spartans, at their public ſhows, appointed the [1] ſeats for foreigners in the ſhade; but ſat themſelves any where, as they happened.

25. Socrates made this excuſe, for not going to Perdiccas upon his invitation: 'leſt,' ſays he, 'I ſhould periſh in the worſt manner; receiving 'kindneſſes, for which I cannot make returns.'

26. There is a precept even in the writings [2] of Epicurus, frequently to call to our remembrance ſome of thoſe who were eminently virtuous.

27. The Pythagoreans recommended to us, in the morning, to view the heavens, to put us in mind of beings which conſtantly go on executing their proper work; and of order, and purity, and naked ſimplicity; for, no ſtar hath a vail.

28. Conſider what [3] Socrates appeared, dreſſed in a ſkin; when Xantippe had gone abroad dreſſed in his cloaths; and with what pleaſantries he

1 This ſhews how manly it is to be enured to hardſhips, and to bear heat or cold; or is deſigned as an inſtance of courteſy.

2 Or, in the Epheſian commentaries; the Greek text is ſuſpected.

3 This ſtory is not preſerved to us.

detained his friends, who ſeemed aſhamed to ſee him in that dreſs, and were retiring.

29. In writing, or in reading, be firſt taught yourſelf, before you pretend to teach others. Obſerve this much more in life.

30. [1] 'Thou, ſince a ſlave, no freedom haſt of 'ſpeech.'

31. 'And my heart laugh'd within me——.'

32. 'Virtue herſelf they blame with harſheſt 'words.'

33. 'Tis madneſs to expect figs in winter; ſo it is, to expect to retain a child, when [fate] allows it not.

34. Epictetus adviſes that when a father is fondly kiſſing his child, he ſhould ſay within himſelf, 'he is, perhaps, to die to morrow.' Words of bad omen, ſay you. Nothing is of bad omen, ſays he, which intimates any of the common works of Nature. Is it of bad omen, to ſay corn muſt be reaped in harveſt?

35. The unripe grape, the ripe, and the dryed. All things are changes, not into nothing, but into that which is not at preſent.

1 The deſign of theſe citations is uncertain. The firſt may ſerve as an admonition to ſubmit to Providence. The ſecond, to place our joy in virtue, and not in external things. The third, to make us eaſy under reproach.

36. 'None can rob you of your good intentions;' ſays Epictetus.

37. He tells us alſo, we muſt find out the true art of aſſenting; and, when treating of our purſuits, that we muſt have a power of reſtraining them: that we may form every purpoſe with [1] reſervation? take care they be kind and ſocial, and proportioned to the worth of the object: that, for keen deſires, we ſhould reſtrain them altogether, and have no averſion to what depends not on our power.

38. 'Tis no ſmall matter we contend for, ſays one, [2] whether we ſhall be mad-men, or not.

39. What do you deſire? ſays Socrates: to have the ſouls of rational creatures, or brutes? rational, ſurely. What ſort of rational, of the virtuous or vicious? of the virtuous. Why, then, do not you ſeek after them? becauſe we have them already. Why, then, are you fighting with each other, and at variance?

1 See above, B. IV. 1.

2 The Stoics had this paradox, that all who are not perfectly wiſe and virtuous are mad-men.

BOOK XII.

1. ALL you deſire to obtain by ſo many windings, you may have at once, if you do not envy yourſelf [ſo great an happineſs.] That is to ſay, if you quit the thoughts of what is paſt, and commit what is future to Providence; and ſet yourſelf to regulate well your preſent conduct, according to the rules of holineſs and juſtice. Of holineſs, that you may embrace heartily what is appointed for you, ſince [1] Nature hath produced it for you, and you for it. Of juſtice, that, with freedom, and without artifice or craft, you may ſpeak the truth, and act according to [2] the law, and the merit of the matter. And, be not ſtopped in this courſe, by the wickedneſs of another, or his opinion or talk, or by any ſenſation of this poor carcaſe, which has grown up around you. Let that which ſuffers in ſuch caſes ſee to it. If, therefore, now that you are near your exit, you quit thought about other things, and honour only that governing and divine part within you, and dread not the ceaſing to live, but the not commencing to live according to nature; you will become

1 That is the Providence of the author of Nature.
2 X. 11. 25.

a man, worthy of that orderly univerſe which produced you, and will ceaſe to be as a ſtranger in your own country; both aſtoniſhed, with what happens every day, as if unexpected; and in anxious ſuſpence about this and the other thing.

2. God beholds all ſouls bare, and ſtripped of theſe corporeal veſſels, bark, and filth. For, by his pure intellectual nature, he touches only what flowed out, and was derived from himſelf. If you would enure yourſelf to do the like, you would be free from much diſtraction and ſolicitude. For, can he, who looks not to the ſurrounding carcaſe, be much hurried about dreſs, houſes, glory, or any ſuch external furniture or accommodation?

3. You conſiſt of three things, this poor fleſh, the animal breath of life, and the intellectual part. To the two former, [1] ſome care is due, to a certain degree, as they are your's. But the [2] third alone is properly your's. Separate, therefore, from yourſelf, that is, from the intellectual part, all which others do and ſay; or what yourſelf have formerly done or ſaid; and all thoſe future events, about which you are diſturbed; and all that may affect this encompaſſing carcaſe, or this animal life, which depends not on your power; and all theſe external events, which the eddy of fortune whirling

1 X. 2. 2 See B. II. 13. B. V. 19.

around you, carries along; ſo that your intellectual power, kept diſentangled from Fate, pure and free, may live with itſelf; acting what is juſt; ſatisfied with what happens; and ſpeaking truth: if, I ſay, you ſeparate from the governing principle within you thoſe things which are, as it were, appended to it by its vehement paſſions, and the times paſt and future, you make yourſelf like the firm world of Empedocles,

'A ſphere rejoicing 'midſt the circling eddy.'

be ſollicitous only to live well for the preſent; and you may go on till death, to ſpend what remains of life, with tranquillity, with true dignity, and complacence with the divinity within you.

4. I have often wondered how each man ſhould love himſelf more than any other; and yet make leſs account of his own opinion concerning himſelf, than of the opinions of others. For, ſhould God appear, or even any wiſe teacher, and enjoin one to entertain no thought or deſign, but what, as ſoon as formed, he would publiſh to others, no man could endure to do ſo, even for one day: thus, we ſtand in greater awe of what thoſe around ſhall think of us, than of what we think of ourſelves.

5. How is it, that [1] the Gods, who have diſ-

1 This is plainly the objection of ſome others, not the author's own ſettled opinion againſt a future ſtate.

poſed all other things in ſuch comely order, and with ſuch goodneſs toward men; yet, have neglected this one point, to wit, the preventing that ſome of the very beſt of men, who have, as it were, lived with the Gods the greateſt part of life, and, by a courſe of holy and religious ſervices, been, as it were, familiar with the divinity, ſhould have no further exiſtence after they die; but be intirely extinguiſhed. If this be truly the caſe, be well aſſured, had it been proper that the caſe ſhould have been otherwiſe, they would have made it ſo. Had it been juſt, it would have been practicable. Had it been according to nature, nature would have effected it. From its not being ſo, if really

It was cuſtomary among the beſt philoſophers, in imitation of Socrates, to ſpeak upon this ſubject with ſuch alternatives, even when they were perſuaded that there would be a future exiſtence. They thought this highly probable; and yet, as they had not full certainty, they ſuggeſted proper ſupports and conſolations even upon the contrary ſuppoſition, and endeavoured to give ſtrong motives to virtue independent upon future rewards. But we wrong them exceedingly, if we imagine that they were doubtful of ſuch points as they often propoſe in ſuch alternatives. See B. II. 11. and IV. 27. and B. XII. 14. where even the doctrine of a Deity and Providence is propoſed with ſuch alternatives, tho' all know how firmly the Stoics were perſuaded of both. Inſtances of this kind occur in every book of our author.

it is not ſo, you may be aſſured it ought not to have been. You ſee, that, in debating this point, you are pleading a point of juſtice with God. Now, we would not thus plead a matter of juſtice with the Gods, were they not perfectly good and juſt. And, if they are ſo, they have left nothing unjuſtly and unreaſonably neglected in their adminiſtration.

6. Enure yourſelf to attempt, even, what you deſpair of executing. For, the left hand, which, for its inability, through want of exerciſe, remains idle in many ſorts of work; yet, can hold the bridle more firmly than the other, by being enured to it.

7. Conſider, in what ſtate ſhall death find you, both as to body and ſoul? obſerve the ſhortneſs of life; the vaſt immenſity of the preceeding, and enſuing duration; and the infirmity of all theſe materials.

8. To behold the active principle ſtripped of its bark; the references and intentions of actions; what pain is; what, pleaſure; what, death; what, glory; who is to each one the cauſe of all his diſturbance and trouble; how no man can be hindered by another; how all is opinion.

9. In the practiſing of the maxims, we ſhould reſemble the adventures in the exerciſes; and not the gladiators. The gladiator, ſometimes, lays by his ſword, and takes it up again; but, the cham-

pion in the exerciſes carries always his arms and hands along with him. He needs nothing elſe for his work but to weild theſe ſkillfully.

10. Conſider well the natures of things, dividing them into the material and active principles; and their references.

11. What a glorious power is granted to man! never to do any action, but ſuch as God is to commend; and to embrace kindly, whatever God appoints for him.

12. As to what happens in the courſe of nature, the Gods are not to be blamed; they never do wrong, willingly or unwillingly. Nor are men; for they [1] do not willingly. There are none, therefore, to be quarrelled with.

13. How ridiculous, and like a ſtranger is he, who is ſurpriſed at any thing which happens in life!

14. There is either a fatal neceſſity, and an unalterably fixed order; or a kind and benign Providence; or a blind confuſion, without a governour. If there be an unalterable neceſſity, why ſtrive againſt it? if there is a kind Providence, which can be appeaſed; make yourſelf worthy of the divine aids. If there is an ungoverned confuſion: yet compoſe yourſelf with this, that, amidſt

1 B. II. 1.

theſe tempeſtuous waves, you have a preſiding intelligence within yourſelf. If the wave ſurrounds you, it can carry along the carcaſe, and the animal life; but, the intellectual part it cannot bear along with it.

15. When a lamp continues to ſhine, and loſes not its ſplendor, till it be extinguiſhed; ſhall your veracity, juſtice, and temperance, be extinguiſhed before you are?

16. When [1] you are ſtruck with the apprehenſion, that one has done wrong; [ſay thus to yourſelf:] how are you ſure this is wrong? grant it to be wrong: you know not but he is deeply condemning himſelf: this is as pityable, as if he were tearing his own face. And then, one, who expects vicious men ſhould not do wrong, is as abſurd as one expecting a fig-tree ſhould not produce the natural juice in the figs; or that infants ſhould not cry; or a horſe ſhould not neigh; or ſuch other neceſſary things. What can the man do, who has ſuch diſpoſitions? if you are a man of high abilities, cure them.

17. If not becoming, do not do it. If not true, do not ſay it. Let theſe be your fixed principles.

18. Conſider always what it is, which ſtrikes your imagination; and unfold it, by diſtinguiſhing

1 See IX. 38. and XI. 18, at the 5th precept.

the cauſe, the matter, the reference, and the time within which it muſt neceſſarily ceaſe.

19. Will not you, at laſt, perceive, that you have ſomething more excellent and divine within you, than that which raiſes the ſeveral paſſions, and moves you, as the wires do a puppet, without your own approbation? what now is my intellectual part? [1] is it fear? is it ſuſpicion? is it luſt? is it any ſuch thing?

20. Firſt, let nothing be done at random, without a reference. Secondly, refer your actions to nothing elſe than ſome ſocial kind purpoſe.

21. Yet a little, and you ſhall be no more; nor ſhall any of thoſe things remain, which you now behold; nor any of thoſe who are now living. 'Tis the nature of all things to change, to turn, and to corrupt; that others may, in their courſe, ſpring out of them.

22. All depends on your opinions: theſe are in your power. Remove, therefore, when you incline, your opinion; and then, as when one has turned the promontory, and got into a bay, all is calm; ſo, all ſhall become ſtable to you, and a ſtill harbour.

23. [2] Any one natural operation, ending at its proper time, ſuffers no ill by ceaſing; nor does

1 IX. 39. at the end. 2 IX. 21.

the agent ſuffer any ill, by its thus ceaſing. In like manner, as to the whole ſeries of actions, which is life; if it ends in its ſeaſon, it ſuffers no ill by ceaſing; nor is the perſon, who thus finiſhes his ſeries, in any bad ſtate. The ſeaſon and the term is limited by Nature; ſometimes even by your own, as in old age; but, always by the nature of the whole. 'Tis by the changes of its ſeveral parts, that the univerſe ſtill remains new, and in its bloom. Now, that is always good and ſeaſonable, which is advantageous to the whole. The ceaſing of life cannot be evil to individuals; for, it has no turpitude in it; ſince it is not in our power; nor is there any thing unſociable in it. Nay, 'tis good; ſince 'tis ſeaſonable to the whole, and advantageous, and concurring with the order of the whole. Thus, too, is he led by God, who goes the ſame way with God, and that by his own inclination.

24. Have theſe three thoughts always at hand: firſt, that you do nothing inconſiderately; nor otherwiſe than Juſtice herſelf would have acted. As for external events, they either happen by chance, or by Providence: now, no man ſhould quarrel with chance, nor cenſure Providence. The ſecond, to examine what each thing is, from its ſeed, to its being quickened; and, from its quickening, till

its death; of what materials compoſed, and into what it muſt be reſolved. The third, that, could you be raiſed on high, ſo as from thence to behold all human affairs, and diſcern their great variety; conſcious, at the ſame time, of the crouds of aerial and etherial inhabitants who ſurround us: were you thus raiſed on high, never ſo often, you would ſee only the ſame things, or things exactly uniform; all of ſhort duration. Can we be proud of ſuch matters?

25. Caſt out your opinions; you are ſafe. Who, then, hinders you to caſt them out?

26. When you fret at any thing, you have forgot that all happens according to the nature of the whole; and that the fault ſubſiſts not in you, but in another. And this, too, you forget, that, whatever now happens, has happened, and will happen; and the like now happens every where. And this, alſo; how great the bond of kindred is, between any man, and all the human race; not by common ſeed or blood, but a common intellectual part. You forget, too, that the [1] ſoul of each man is divine, an efflux from God; and this, alſo, that no man is proprietor of any thing: his dear children, his very body, and his life, proceeded from the ſame God. And this, too, that opinion is all.

1 See B. II. 1, and 13.

And this, that [1] it is the preſent moment only, which one lives, or can loſe.

27. Recollect frequently thoſe, who, formerly, were tranſported with indignation; thoſe, who, once, proceeded to the higheſt pitch in glory, or in calamities, or in enmities, or any other circumſtance of fortune. Then ſtop, and aſk, where are they all now? ſmoke, and aſhes, and an old tale; or, perhaps, not even a tale. Let every ſuch inſtance occur. [2] Fabius Catullinus in the country; Lucius Lupus, and Stertinius at Baiae: Tiberius at Capreae; and Velius Rufus; and, in general, all eminence attended with the high opinions of men. And, how mean are all the objects of our keen purſuits! how much more becomes it a philoſopher, to ſhew himſelf, in the matters ſubjected to his management, a man of juſtice and temperance, following the Gods, and that with [3] ſimplicity. For, the moſt intolerable pride is that diſ-

1 See B. II. 14.

2 Some of the perſons here named as eminent, or ſingular in their fortunes, are not well known.

3 'Tis plain from the reaſon ſubjoined, what this ſimplicity is, viz. a ſingle view to act well the part appointed us by God, without aiming at glory, pleaſure, or any ſelfiſh advantage; but from love to God and moral goodneſs. This ſimplicity is oppoſite to the more ſubtile and refined ſorts of ſelfiſhneſs.

played in an oſtentation of humility, and contempt of pride.

28. To thoſe who aſk, ‘ where have you ſeen ‘ theſe Gods? or, whence are you aſſured they ‘ exiſt, that you thus worſhip them?’ firſt, [1] they are viſible, even to the eye: again, my own ſoul I cannot ſee; and, yet, I reverence it; and thus, too, as I experience continually the power of the Gods, I both know ſurely that they are, and worſhip them.

29. The ſafety of life depends on this; to diſcern each object, what it is in whole, of what materials, what its form or cauſe; to do juſtice with all our heart; and, to ſpeak truth. And, what further remains, but to enjoy life, adding one virtuous office to another; ſo as not to leave any vacant interval?

30. There is but one light of the ſun, tho' divided by walls, mountains, and other objects. There is but one common ſubſtance, tho' divided among ten thouſand bodies, with peculiar qualities. There is but one animal ſoul, tho' divided by ten thouſand natures, with their peculiar limitations; and [2] one intellectual ſpirit, altho' it appears to be

1 This may relate to the heavenly bodies whom the Stoics deemed inferior deities.

2 It is manifeſt he does not here intend proper nu-

divided. The other parts of theſe mentioned wholes, ſuch as the forms and matter, being void of ſenſe, are void of affection to each other: and, yet, 'tis an intellectual being that preſerves them, and a force of gravity, which makes them tend to the ſame place. But, what is intellectual has a peculiar tendency to its kind, and is naturally recommended to it. And the ſocial affection cannot be entirely repreſſed.

31. What do you deſire? merely to be? or alſo to have ſenſation, and appetite? to grow, and to decay again; to ſpeak, to think; are any of theſe worthy of your deſire? if all theſe are deſpicable; go on to the laſt that remains, to follow reaſon and God. Now, it is oppoſite to the reverence due to them, if we repine that we muſt

merical unity, but only ſpecifical, or ſimilitude: and this further, perhaps, that all individual natures are parts taken from ſome great maſs, or whole of that kind. Nor can we conclude from their ſpeaking of the re-union after death, that individuals ceaſe to be diſtinct perſons from the Deity and from each other; ſince it was the known tenet of the Stoics, that heroic ſouls were raiſed to the dignity of gods, or immortal angels; and they mean no more than an entire moral union by reſignation and complete conformity of will. Some degree of this union is attainable in this life, and ſtrongly recommended by the Stoics: ſee B. VIII. 34. ſuch expreſſions are frequent in the New Teſtament.

be deprived of all the former enjoyments by death.

32. How ſmall a part is appointed to each one of the infinite immenſe duration? for, preſently, it muſt vaniſh into eternity: how ſmall a part of the univerſal matter? and, how ſmall, of the univerſal ſpirit? on how narrow a clod of this earth do you creep? when all theſe things are conſidered, nothing will appear great, except acting as your nature leads; and bearing contentedly whatever the common nature brings along with it.

33. What uſe does the governing part make of itſelf? on this, all depends. Other things, whether dependent on your choice, or not, are but dead carcaſes, and ſmoke.

34. This muſt rouſe you moſt powerfully to deſpiſe death, that, even [1] thoſe who deemed pleaſure the ſole good, and pain the ſole evil, yet deſpiſed it.

35. To the perſon who reputes that alone to be good, which is [2] ſeaſonable, and reckons it indifferent, whether he has opportunity of exerting a greater number of actions, according to right reaſon, or a ſmaller: whether he beholds this univerſe for a longer or a ſhorter ſpace, death cannot appear terrible.

1 Epicurus.

2 The peculiar meaning of this ſeaſonableneſs is beſt explained in *Cicero de finib.* l. iii. c. 14.

36. You have lived, O man, as a denizon of [1] this great ſtate: of what conſequence to you, whether it be only for five years? what is according to the laws, is equal and juſt to all. What is there terrible in this, that you are ſent out, not by a tyrant, or an unjuſt judge, but by that Nature, which at firſt introduced you? as if [2] the praetor who employed the player, ſhould diſmiſs him again from the ſcene. But, ſay you, I have not finiſhed the five acts, but only three. You ſay true; but, in life, [3] three acts make a complete play. For, 'tis he who appoints the end to it, who, as he was the cauſe of the compoſition, is now the cauſe of the diſſolution. Neither of them are chargeable on you: depart, therefore, contented, and in good humour; for, he is propitious and kind, who diſmiſſes you.

1 The univerſe.

2 The great magiſtrates at their own charge exhibited ſhows to the people, and among others gave plays, and for this purpoſe employed the actors.

3 See above, B. XI. 1.

FINIS.

MAXIMS OF THE STOICS.

As GATAKER, in the prefatory diſcourſe to his excellent edition and commentary on ANTONINUS, has given a very juſt SUMMARY OF THE CHIEF MAXIMS OF THE STOIC PHILOSOPHY, taken moſtly from theſe Meditations; we thought it proper to tranſlate it here; and give the references to the places he quotes; and the paſſages from ſome others, with a few additions.

I.

OF GOD, PROVIDENCE, and [1] the LOVE of GOD.

'THE DIVINE PROVI-
'DENCE [2] takes care of hu-
'man affairs; and not of the univerſe

1 Tho' the Stoics have not uſed the term LOVE, for expreſſing our pious affections to GOD; yet, 'tis plain, they meant all which can be implied in that

'only, in general; but, of each ſingle 'man, and each ſingle matter: is pre-'ſent in all the affairs of men; and [3] 'aids mankind, not only in thoſe 'things which are their true good 'and happineſs, but in the external 'conveniencies and ſupports of life.

'GOD is, therefore, [4] above all to 'be worſhipped; [5] in all undertakings 'to be invoked; [6] at all times to be 'remembered, and preſent to our 'thoughts; [7] in all things to be ac-'knowledged, and [8] his conduct ap-

word, as uſed ſince with regard to the Deity. They ſeem to have abſtained from this term, out of reverence: φιλειν, and φιλια, with them, carry a notion of equality.

2 II. 3, 11. and VI. 44. ſee alſo the 'diſſert: 'of Epictet. I. 12. 14. 16.

3 I. 14. and IX. 27. 40.

4 V. 33.

5 VI. 23. III. 13. ſee alſo IX. 40. and the note.

6 VI. 7.

7 III. 13.

8 VI. 18. 'In all

'proved;' for all things to be prai-

'theſe things will I vindicate THEE before men.'
'Epictetus cited at VII. 45.

1 'If I was ſubject formerly to the ſame weak-
'neſs, and am not now, 'tis to God I give the
'praiſe.' Epictetus cited at X. 30.

'In every event which happens in the univerſe,
'it is an eaſy thing to praiſe Providence, if one has
'theſe two things within him: a power to compre-
'hend and underſtand what happens to every one;
'and, a grateful heart.' Epictetus I. 6.

'What words are ſufficient to praiſe or declare
'theſe works of God as they deſerve? had we un-
'derſtanding, what elſe ought we to do, both in
'public and private, but ſing hymns to God, and
'bleſs him, and pour out our thanks before him?
'ought we not, while either digging, ploughing, or
'feeding, to ſing this hymn to God: GREAT IS
'GOD! that he has given us hands, and organs
'for ſwallowing and digeſting: that he makes us
'grow up inſenſibly; and breath even while aſleep.
'For each of theſe things we ought thus to bleſs
'him. But, of all to ſing the greateſt and moſt di-
'vine hymn, for his giving us the power of attain-
'ing the knowledge of theſe things, and the me-
'thod of uſing them. What, then? ſince you, the
'multitude, are blind, ought there not to be ſome
'one to perform this duty in your place; and pay
'this hymn to God for you all? for, what elſe can

'ſed, and celebrated.[1] To HIM alone, 'we ought, in ſingleneſs of heart, to 'yield a willing obedience in all we 'do.[2] From HIM whatever comes to 'us, we ought to receive, and em-'brace, with a ready and hearty ac-

'I do, a lame old man, but ſing a hymn to God? 'were I a nightingale, I would do the buſineſs of a 'nightingale. Were I a ſwan, I would do that of a 'ſwan. Now, that I am a rational creature, I ought 'to hymn the Deity. This is my buſineſs: this I 'perform, this is my poſt: while I am allowed I will 'never leave it. And you I will exhort to join with 'me in this my ſong.' Epictetus I. 16.

Theſe ſentiments, ſays Gataker, and others of the ſame kind in Epictetus, are not unworthy of the beſt Chriſtian: had he but, only, to the ſubject of his hymn, added God's gift of Chriſt to mankind.

1 ———I know to whom I owe ſubjection and obedience: it is to God. Epictetus IV. 34.

2 IV. 34. 25. III. 4.

'In fine, will nothing but that which God wills.' Epictetus II. 17.

'To God I have ſubjected all my deſires. What 'he wills, I will alſo. What he wills not, neither 'do I will.' Epictetus III. 26. IV. 27.

'cord: and think [1] nothing better,
'[2] nothing more convenient, [3] more
'advantageous, [4] more fortunate, or
'more ſeaſonable, than that, whate-
'ver it be, which HE has WILLED.[5]
'Wherever HE thinks fit to lead us,
'there we ought to follow; [6] without
'turning our back, or murmuring.[7]

1 'For I deem that better which God wills than 'that which I will.' Epictetus, ibid.

2 VII. 57.
3 X. 20.
4 X. 20.
5 XII. 27.

'I adhere to him, as a ſervant, and attendant. 'His purpoſe, his deſire, and, in a word, his will, is 'mine alſo.' Epictetus as cited at X. 21.

'O Jove! and thou, O deſtiny! [by him
'Eſtabliſh'd thorough nature,] lead me on
'Where e'er you have appointed me; and I
'Will follow unreluctant.'——

The prayer of Cleanthes frequently quoted by Epictetus.

6 'From God come all things; and it is beſt to 'follow him, without murmuring. He is a bad ſol- 'dier who ſighs while he follows his general.' Seneca, Epiſt. 107.

7 'Whatever ſtation or rank thou ſhalt aſſign

'Whatever place, or ſtation, HE has 'aſſigned us; that we ought ſtrenu-'ouſly to keep, and with all our 'might maintain; were we, even, by 'that, to meet a thouſand deaths.'

II.

OF MAN; and the SOCIAL DUTIES and AFFECTION to MEN, as, by NATURE, our KINSMEN.

'MANKIND we ought [1] from 'the heart to love, [2] have a 'tender care of, [3] and bear with their 'weakneſs; [4] abſtain from all kind of

'me, I will die ten thouſand deaths ſooner than 'abandon it.' Epictetus III. 24. after Socrates, 'in Plato's apology.

1 VIII. 13. IX. 27.
2 IX. 3.
3 V. 33.
4 V. 33.

'injury,[1] that being even impiety:[2]
'do them all the good we can;[3] and
'not believe, we are born, and to live,
'for ourſelves alone;[4] but let all be-
'hold us dedicate ourſelves, to the
'utmoſt of our ſtrength and abilities,
'for the public good;[5] and kindly
'beneficent to all men.

'[6] We ought to live ſatisfied with
'acting our part well, and with the
'inward conſciouſneſs of having done
'ſo:[7] without concern for the repu-
'tation of it;[8] without witneſſes;

1 IX. 1. 2 V. 33. 3 VII. 55.
'Non ſibi, ſed, toti genitum ſe credere mundo.'
Lucan.

4 VIII. 7.
5 III. 4.
6 IX. 6. and VII. 28.
7 V. 6.
'Even while giving, forgetting that he gives.'
Seneca de Beneficiis II. 16.

8 III. 5.
'Let the motive, in all actions, be the deed it-
'ſelf, and not the obſervers of it.' Cicero de finibus. B. II.

'[1] without hope of reward; [2] without 'any view at all of our own advan- 'tage. [3] But go on from one good 'deed to another; [4] and never be 'weary of doing good; [5] eſteeming it 'the true fruit of living, to make life 'one uninterrupted ſeries of good 'actions, ſo cloſely linked to one a- 'nother, [6] that, thro' the whole, there 'be not found the [7] leaſt break or in- 'terval: [8] deeming it our own good 'that we have done good to others; '[9] and, that we have ſerved ourſelves, 'if we have been uſeful to any man: '[10] and all, without catching at, or

1 'Tis Epicurus who ſays men love each other 'from hope of reward.' Plutarch, 'of the love of 'our offspring.'

2 IX. at the end.
3 VI. 7. V. 6.
4 VII. 74.
5 XII. 29.
6 XII. 29.
7 IX. 23.
8 IX. at the end.
9 VII. 74.
10. VII. 73.

'wiſhing for any external praiſe, or 'glory, among mankind.

1 'The CULTURE of our own 'HEART deſerves, of all other, the 'greateſt and moſt reverential care.'

2 'To LOVE the MORAL CHARM, 'to act the FAIR, the LOVELY, the 'HONOURABLE PART, are, of all 'purſuits, the moſt excellent, the 'moſt precious.

3 'From that which we are con-'ſcious is our DUTY,[4] no deſires, nei-'ther of life, nor of any thing what-'ever, ſhould we allow to draw us a-'way; no fears of death, or torture, 'much leſs of loſs or harm, to deterr 'us.'

'Theſe (ſays Gataker,) are the 'MAXIMS and PRECEPTS of the

1 V. 21. II. 13. 2 III. 6. VI. 16. 3 VI. 22. VII. 15. VIII. 5. 4 VII. 44.

'STOICS; perfectly agreeable to their 'principles: all Holy, Righteous, 'Strict, and Manly: all breathing 'Piety, Affection, Humanity, and 'Greatneſs of ſoul.'

To this we ſhall ſubjoin the following extract from the ſame preface: being Gataker's apology for employing, tho' a Chriſtian miniſter, ſo many year's time and labour on theſe Meditations of a Heathen Emperor, under whoſe reign the Chriſtians ſuffered perſecution.

'IN fine, ſays he, that I may return 'to what I at firſt advertiſed you 'of from St. Jerom; I think it may 'be boldly aſſerted, there are no re- 'maining monuments of the ancient 'ſtrangers,[1] which come nearer to the 'doctrine of CHRIST, than the wri- 'tings and admonitions of theſe two; 'Epictetus, and Antoninus. 'Tis cer-

1 So he calls the Heathens after St. Paul.

'tain, whatever precepts OUR LORD 'HIMSELF has given, in thoſe ſermons and converſations of his, inſerted and interwoven into the hiſtory of the goſpel; [1] of abſtaining from evil, even in thought: [2] of ſuppreſſing vicious affections: [3] of leaving off all idle converſation: [4] of cultivating the heart with all diligence; [5] and faſhioning it after the image of God: [6] of doing good to men from the moſt ſingle diſintereſted view: [7] of bearing injuries with contentment: [8] of uſing moderation, and ſtrict caution, in our admonitions and reproofs: [9] of counting all things

1 Matth. XV. 19.
2 —— V. 22, 28.
3 —— XII. 36.
4 —— V. 20. VI. 33.
5 —— V. 45. 48.
6 —— VI. 1. 3.
7 —— V. 39.
8 ---- XVIII. 15. 16.
9 Luke XIV. 26. 33.

'whatever, and even life itſelf, as no-
'thing, when reaſon and the caſe de-
'mand them: and of undertaking
'and performing almoſt all the other
'duties of [1] Piety, [2] Affection, [3] E-
'quity, [4] Humanity, [5] with the grea-
'teſt diligence and ardour: All theſe
'ſame precepts are to be found in An-
'toninus, juſt as if he had habitual-
'ly read them; they are every where
'interſperſed through this collection
'of his thoughts and meditations;
'and continually inculcated with a
'ſurpriſing ſtrength and life, which
'pierces to the bottom of the heart,
'and leaves the dart deep fixed in the
'ſoul. This every attentive reader will
'perceive; every honeſt one confeſs.

1 Matth. XXII. 37.
2 —— XXII. 39.
3 —— VII. 12.
4 —— V. 44. and Luke X. 37.
5 —— V. 19. 20.

'But ſome may, perhaps, ſay: To 'what purpoſe take thoſe precepts 'from a ſtranger, and even an adver-'ſary to the Chriſtian faith? when 'they can be had more readily from 'the ſacred page, where they ſtand 'publiſhed to all. And as they come 'from the mouth of our MASTER 'himſelf, are inforced with the high-'er authority of his command, and 'attended to with a ſtricter neceſſity 'of obedience.'

'To this I anſwer, that a care-'ful peruſal and ſerious reflection on 'theſe Meditations of Antoninus, are 'ſeveral ways uſeful.

'For, in the firſt place, the ſacred 'writers have given us only the chief 'heads of OUR LORD's diſcourſes,

'concisely digested as a taste or spe-
'cimen; and those maxims and pre-
'cepts only summarily proposed, are
'in Antoninus more extensively ap-
'plied, more fully explained; and, by
'a great variety of striking arguments,
'established, illustrated, inforced and
'inculcated upon us, and accommo-
'dated to practice in civil life. In all
'this, our Emperor particularly excells.

'And, then, another thing of no
'small moment is this. We discover
'the equity of the Christian doctrine,
'and its perfect agreement with rea-
'son, while we show it is approved
'and praised even by strangers and
'adversaries. [1] A testimony from e-
'nemies is of great weight. And, says
'[2] DION PRUSAEUS, The encomi-

1 Isidor. Pelus. II. epist. 228. and III. epist. 335.
2 Oration. 51.

'um of thoſe who admire tho' they
'do not receive, muſt be the fineſt of
'all praiſes. The Apoſtle underſtood
'this very well, when he called in teſ-
'timonies from [1] the inſcriptions, and
'[2] writings of the ſtrangers, for proof
'of the doctrine he brought and was
'publiſhing among them. Surely it
'muſt conduce not a little, to vindi-
'cate and implant in the breaſts of
'any whatever, the precepts and leſ-
'ſons of OUR LORD, as perfectly a-
'greeable to equity and [3] reaſon; that,
'a man who was a ſtranger, and un-
'favourable to the Chriſtian name,
'(for he neither knew our myſteries,
'nor underſtood the reaſons of our
'faith,) ſhould yet recommend and

1 Acts XVII. 23.
2 Acts XVII. 28.
3 Our reaſonable ſervice. Rom. XII. 1. to follow God and reaſon: Antoninus, XII. 31.

'eſtabliſh them with ſuch vehemence
'and ardour, and by ſo very forcible
'arguments. Who is not ſenſible,
'ſays [1] an author of high character,
'That thoſe have had a good cauſe
'who gained it before judges who
'were indifferent? what ſhall one
'ſay then of that cauſe which is gain-
'ed even before the averſe and pre-
'judiced againſt it; nay, [2] when its
'very enemies ſit judges.

'Further, in theſe following
'books, the good Providence and
'kindneſs of God ſhines forth; as
'he did not ſuffer his own image to
'be quite worn out and loſt in man
'who had fallen off from him. But
'preſerved ſome ſparks alive, which
'he both excited by various methods,

1 Aug. epiſt. 170. 2 Deut. XXXII. 31.

'and improved even to a miracle.
'Partly, that the ſafety and good or-
'der of human ſociety might be pro-
'vided for: [1] leſt men, turning quite
'ſavage, ſhould like wild beaſts, ruſh
'univerſally on each other's deſtruc-
'tion. Since [2] man, without educa-
'tion is the moſt ſavage of all the
'creatures which the earth nouriſhes.
'And, partly, that they might apply
'themſelves to [3] know and [4] ſeek
'God, by the aſſiſtance of theſe helps;
'being plainly [5] without excuſe if
'they either deſpiſed or neglected

1 There is nothing more impious, more barbarous, than man once turned ſavage. Polybius hiſt. B. 1. and Embaſs. 122.

2 Plato, in the laws, B. VI.

3 Romans I. 19. That which may be known of God. And, verſe 21. When they knew God.

4 That they ſhould ſeek the Lord, if haply they might feel after him and find him. Acts XVII. 27.

5 Rom. I. 20.

'them. For that ſaying of St. Bernard,
'is undoubtedly true, [1] 'The image of
'God in our hearts may be burnt, but
'not burnt out. Surely, to wear quite
'out that [2] image, originally ſtamped
'on the rational ſoul, to extinguiſh in-
'tirely [3] that torch, kindled from hea-
'ven in the human heart; has been be-
'yond the power either of the vices of
'men or the malice of devils: nay, ac-
'cording to him, beyond the power of
'hell-flames. It was the will of the di-
'vine goodneſs that this image ſhould,
'for the advantage of the human race,
'and the particular benefit of his peo-
'ple, be preſerved and cheriſhed amid
'the ruins and aſhes, which followed
'the primitive defection.'

1 Bern. in annum Serm. 1.

2 Geneſis I. 27. and IX. 6.

3. Prov. XX. 27. Rom. II. 15.

FINIS.